

# **Historical Empathy in the Teaching and Learning of Chinese History**

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## **Abstract**

Historical empathy constitutes an important element of history teaching and learning, enabling the development of historical understanding. The present study addressed two key questions: (1) Would students provided with multiple source documents perform significantly better in historical empathy than those provided with textbook materials only? (2) With the provision of multiple source documents, would there be any significant difference in students' historical empathy in encountering an ancient historical figure versus a modern historical figure? Corresponding to these two key questions, two hypotheses were formulated and subjected to examination. 75 form three students from a local Boys' secondary school participated in the present study. The participants were randomly divided into two groups. They had to write memoirs in the role of two historical figures, namely Chang Hsueh-liang (in the modern era) and Shang Yang (in the ancient period). Students of group A were given multiple source documents of Chang Hsueh-liang and textbook materials of Shang Yang. Students of group B were provided with multiple source documents of Shang Yang and textbook materials of Chang Hsueh-liang. Guided questions were also provided. The memoirs were analyzed with respect to three categories of historical empathy, namely aspect of historical context, motivational aspect and affective aspect. A three-point scoring scheme was applied to each aspect.

The results indicate that there is no significant difference in the historical empathy scores between the multiple source documents group and the textbook materials group. Such results, being contrary to the prediction of Hypothesis One, call for a re-examination of the role of multiple source documents and textbook materials in the elicitation of historical empathy. Between the written memoirs on Chang Hsueh-liang and on Shang Yang, no significant difference was found in the historical empathy scores, given that multiple source documents and guided questions were provided. The expectation of hypothesis two was confirmed by the results of the present study. In this connection, findings in the textbook materials group with respect



to the concern underlying hypothesis two should be noted. Except in the case of “affective aspect”, no significant difference in the historical empathy scores was found between the memoir writings on Chang Hseuh-liang and on Shang Yang. Implications of the present study on the learning of Chinese history were discussed. Taking into account of the limitations of the present study, suggestions were made for further studies.

## 撮要

歷史同理心是歷史教與學的重要元素，有助對歷史的理解。是項研究探討兩個關鍵問題：〔一〕在歷史同理心的表現方面，獲得多元化史料的同学會否比只獲分派教科書資料的同学表現顯著較佳？〔二〕若同學獲得多元化史料，在代入古代歷史人物和現代歷史人物方面，同學的歷史同理心會否有顯著分別？針對這兩個關鍵問題，我們闡述了兩個假設，並予以檢驗。七十五名來自本地男校的中三學生參與是項研究，參與者隨機分為兩組，參與者需要代入張學良〔現代歷史人物〕及商鞅〔古代歷史人物〕的角色，分別替兩位歷史人物撰寫回憶錄。甲組的參與者獲得有關張學良的多元化史料及商鞅的教科書資料，乙組參與者則獲派有關商鞅的多元化史料及有關張學良的教科書資料。此外，兩組參與者均獲分派有關撰寫回憶錄的引導問題。在分析回憶錄方面，本研究根據歷史同理心的三個類別〔歷史背景方面、動機方面及感覺方面〕，採用一個三等級的評分機制。

是項研究結果顯示，多元化史料組別與教科書資料組別在歷史同理心的得分並無顯著差別。由於是項研究結果與第一個假設的預期相反，我們需要重新檢視多元化史料及教科書資料在引發歷史同理心的角色。比較由多元史料組別參與者所撰寫的張學良及商鞅回憶錄，兩者在歷史同理心的得分並無顯著差異，結果乎合是項研究的第二個假設的預期。與此相關，我們亦須留意第二個假設所關注的問題於教科書資料組的結果。除卻「感覺方面」的得分作為唯一例外，學生們在撰寫張學良及商鞅回憶錄上的歷史同理心得分並無顯著差異。此外，是次研究亦會探討歷史同理心在中國歷史學習方面的含意。最後，筆者提出有關改善是項研究的建議。

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## Chapter 1 Introduction

The history curriculum in Hong Kong is streamed into two independent subjects, namely Chinese History and History. Chinese History covers the history of China while History covers world history and local history. These two subjects are widely offered by most of the Hong Kong secondary schools from form one to form three. However, the teaching objectives of these two subjects are different.

The objectives of the History curriculum in junior forms (form one to form three) aim to enable students to achieve the following: (1) “make an imaginative reconstruction of past events”; (2) make simple deductions and inferences from historical sources”; and (3) select, organize and deploy information to produce well-structured work” (Curriculum guide of Form 1 to Form 3 History, 1996, p.7-8). The above mentioned properties are similar to what is required in “historical empathy”.

Historical empathy is a component of historical thinking. It is instrumental in the development of historical understanding and constitutes an important element of history teaching and learning (see Ashby & Lee, 1987; Davis Jr, 2001; Foster, 1999; Foster, 2001; Levstik, 2001; Omdahl, 1995; Shemilt, 1984; Stern, 1998; Yeager & Doppen, 2001; Yeager, Foster & Maley, 1998; Yeager & Foster, 2001).

The notion of historical empathy originated from what Collingwood called “re-enactment”. Collingwood, who was a leading historical philosopher, had discussed the notion of re-enactment in his best-known book, *The idea of history* (1946/1993). To him, “re-enactment” is the process of re-thinking past thoughts by an imaginative interpretation of historical evidences.

Historical empathy is distinctive to the learning of history. It helps students to examine a historical figure’s decisions and actions in the context of circumstantial factors. Historical empathy enables students to understand why the specific historical

figure thinks like that by reconstructing the historical events within a specific historical context with the aid of multiple source documents (Cooper, 1992; Shemilt, 1984; Yeager & Foster, 2001).

Recent studies aim at discovering the nature of historical empathy and finding out whether it can be effectively taught and assessed (Ashby & Lee, 1984; Cairns, 1989; Davis Jr., 2001; Downey, 1995; Foster, 2001; Lee & Ashby, 2001; Shemilt, 1984; Yeager & Foster, 2001; Yeager, Foster & Maley, 1998). Most of the studies investigate whether the use of multiple source documents in the teaching of history enables the students to achieve historical empathy (Spoehr & Spoehr, 1994; Vansledright & Frankes, 1998; Yeager & Doppen, 2001). Though the nature of historical empathy is contentious, it is held that the ability to empathize with the past enables better historical understanding (Cooper, 1992; Shemilt, 1984; Yeager & Foster, 2001). However, “historical empathy” has not been given much importance in the Chinese history teaching of Hong Kong. In the curriculum guide of Chinese History (1997), only the abilities to acquire historical knowledge and analyze historical events were emphasized. Nothing about historical empathy has been mentioned in the teaching objectives of Chinese History.

It should be noted that the local Curriculum Development Council encourages teachers “to teach modern Chinese history in detail while the ancient Chinese history should be taught in brief” (詳近略遠) (Curriculum guide of Form one to Form three Chinese History, 1997, p. 3). In this line of thought, ancient Chinese history is considered “remote” to the life experience of the secondary school students, it follows that it will be difficult for them to understand what and why the people in the remote past acted in the way they did. However, empirical studies have found that students could empathize with ancient historical figures if they were given sufficient historical materials, appropriate instructions and guided questions (Riley, 1998; Yeager &



Doppen, 2001).

In the context of local situation and the academic discourse on historical empathy, two key questions seem worth discussing. First, would the local students empathize better with a historical figure when they are given multiple source documents rather than textbook materials as the single type of document? Second, would there be any difference on local students' historical empathy towards a historical figure of ancient period and a historical figure of modern era when they are given multiple source documents?

The literature review of the present study focused on discussing the nature of historical empathy (e.g., Ashby & Lee, 1987; Cairns, 1989; Collingwood, 1946/1993; Davis Jr., 2001; Foster, 2001; Yeager & Foster, 2001; Yeager, Foster & Maley, 1998). The way historical empathy could be achieved was examined (Foster, 1999; Omdahl, 1995; Sansom, 1987; Shemilt, 1984; VanSledright, 2001). Besides, empirical studies about the relationship between historical empathy and the use of multiple source documents were reviewed (Spoehr & Spoehr, 1994; Vansledright & Franks, 1998; Yeager & Doppen, 2001). Furthermore, distinctions between historical empathy and sympathy (Cairns, 1989; Foster, 1999; Stockley, 1983), and limitations of historical empathy (VanSledright, 2001) were discussed.

An empirical study in addressing the above mentioned key questions was designed and implemented. It has two main purposes: (1) to find out whether there is significant difference in historical empathy between students using multiple source documents and those receiving textbook materials only, (2) to find out whether there is significant difference in historical empathy between students learning modern history and ancient history, given multiple source documents and appropriate guided questions are provided.

The ability to empathize is essential in learning history, regardless of Chinese



or World History. However, the lack of emphasis on historical empathy in the syllabus of Chinese History hinders students from achieving better historical understanding. In the context of the local educational reform, it is the right time to reform the teaching and learning of Chinese history. Although this study is preliminary in nature, the results may give food for thought to colleagues who are teaching Chinese history in secondary schools.

## **Chapter 2     Literature Review**

### **2.1 Historical Views of Empathy**

The concept of empathy came from the term “Einfuehlung” in German aesthetics. It originally referred to the tendency of observers to project themselves “into” the object they observe, usually some physical object of beauty (Davis, 1994). The concept of empathy had been used in psychology since Lipps, who in 1897 introduced the term Einfuehlung in his writings about aesthetic perception and appreciation. Lipps believed that one in examining and contemplating an object, projected oneself into the object —“feeling together with”, established an identification between it and oneself, engaged in a process of inner imitation, and in this manner came more fully to understanding and appreciating it.

Lipps and Titchener identified the observer as a willful figure deliberately making an effort to step outside the self and “into” the experiences of others. Titchener translated the German word “Einfuehlung” into “empathy” in 1909. Some years later, Lipps (1926) extended this definition to include people and not only objects as the targets of empathic efforts. To Lipps, empathy proceeded by means of projection and imitation, could involve both objects and persons as targets, and consisted largely of heightened understanding of the other through cue-produced shared feelings (Goldstein & Michaels, 1985). According to Davis (1994), it was an active attempt by one individual to get “inside” the other. That means it is a deliberate attempt of the observer to get into the mind of the one whom he observes.

As stated by Kohler (1929), processes leading to affective sharing were no longer essential. Empathy was more the understanding of other’s feelings than a sharing of them. One can understand other people by viewing and interpreting the actor’s action, movement and physical cues (cited in Davis, 1994).

Apart from the affective aspect, the cognitive aspect of empathy was also



emphasized. Mead (1934) placed much emphasis on the cognitive aspect of empathy. He emphasized an individual's capacity to take on the role of other persons as a means of understanding how they view the world (cited in Davis, 1994). At about the same time, Piaget (1932) highlighted the ability to decenter as an important cognitive skill. In Piaget's view, "decentering" is the ability to differentiate between the experiences of self and those of others. This kind of decentering ability is similar to the construct of role taking. Both of them are primarily a cognitive process in which the individual suppressed his or her egocentric outlook and imagined how the world appeared to others (cited in Davis, 1994).

In early hermeneutic thought, "empathy" was constructed as a special method of access to historical and cultural phenomena due to the psychological similarity between interpreter and interpretee (Koegler & Stueber, 2000). Interpreters "understand" the social or cultural world by "reliving and re-experiencing its meaning" (Koegler & Stueber, 2000, p. vii). Unlike natural scientists, historians could not restrict themselves to a mere external description of historical events by proceeding from a perceptual acquaintance with individual events to the recognition of laws of nature under which such events could be subsumed. Grasping the peculiar objectivity of a thought can only be accomplished by integrating the thought of another thinker into one's own subjective cognitive system. The integration of another person's thought into one's own cognitive system was regarded as re-enactment by Collingwood. In this sense, the construct of re-enactment is similar to the psychological concept of "empathy" (discussed in Koegler & Stueber, 2000, pp. 5-6).



## 2.2 Contemporary Views of Empathy

In historical view, both affective and cognitive aspects of empathy were emphasized. In recent years, the discussion about the construct of empathy had been enriched. The definition of empathy in social and developmental psychology, counseling, psychotherapy and psychoanalysis are discussed as follows.

Deutsch and Madle (1975) observed that empathy was no longer viewed as purely a perceptual awareness of an individual's affect or sharing of feeling, but rather an ability to understand a person's emotional reactions in consort with the context.

Eisenberg (1986) also found that there were several different processes that were frequently referred to as empathy. The processes she delineated were namely cognitive role taking, affective role taking, sympathy, personal distress and empathy<sup>1</sup>. Empathy occurs when a person shares the emotional state of the others.

According to Wispe (1986, p.318), empathy is an attempt by one self-aware self to comprehend unjudgmentally the positive and negative experiences of another self. It was a more active, effortful process in which the observer tries to understand the target by deliberately reaching out to the other. Besides, Hoffman (1987) defined empathy as an affective response more appropriate to someone else's situation than to one's own.

To Davis (1994), empathy can be broadly defined as a set of constructs having to do with the responses of one individual to the experiences of another. Based on this definition, an organizational model was addressed by Davis (1994). One of the constructs in the organizational model consisted of the specific processes, which

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<sup>1</sup> Cognitive role taking occurs when the person identifies the thoughts of another person. Affective role taking occurs when the person identifies the feelings of another person. Sympathy occurs when the person responds to the other's emotion with an affect that is not identical to but is congruent with his or her state and welfare. Personal distress occurs when the person experiences self-oriented anxiety or worry over the other's feelings. Empathy occurs when the person shares the emotional state of the other (Eisenberg, 1986).

generated empathic outcomes in the observer. Davis identified three broad classes of empathy-related processes, which distinguished one from another by the degree of cognitive effort and sophistication required for their operation. Among the three processes, the most advanced process is role taking or perspective taking, the attempts by one individual to understand another by imagining the other's perspective (1994, p. 12).

Apart from being an important construct in developmental and social psychology, empathy is also a key construct in counseling and psychotherapy. To Carl Roger (1959, p. 210), empathy was defined as an ability to perceive the internal frame of reference of another with accuracy and with the emotional components and meanings which pertain thereto as an ability if one were the person, but without ever losing the "as if" condition. For the client-centered therapists, empathy involved focusing on the client's presently available moment-to-moment meanings and experiencing. The therapist tries to understand non-judgmentally the client's immediate frame of reference in the moment and to communicate that understanding back to the client. The therapist attempts to imaginatively enter the client's experience of struggling to articulate, share and dialogue with the therapist as well as to try to grasp the content of what the client is striving to communicate (Bohard and Greenberg, 1997, p. 6).

As stated by Bohard and Greenberg (1997, p. 7), empathy is not the same as unconditional positive regard (liking and prizing the client), nor is it being sympathetic or compassionate. Empathy is one of the three "therapeutic conditions" that Rogers (1957) postulated as necessary and sufficient for a therapeutic change to occur. According to Rogers, empathy, combined with unconditional positive regard and congruence, operates by contributing to a safe climate where clients heal themselves through their own self-actualization tendencies.

Although empathy is not a major variable for psychoanalysis, Freud (1921/1955,



p. 110) did mention empathy. For him, empathy was a path leads from identification by way of imitation to empathy that is to the comprehension of the mechanism by means of which we are enabled to take up any attitude at all towards another mental life. Kohut believed that it was important for the analyst to try to comprehend what was going on with the client in an “experience near” way. This meant that the analyst has to try placing himself or herself, through a process of “vicarious introspection”, into the experience of the client. He also observed that expressing empathic understanding sometimes facilitates the therapeutic process by making patients more open to receiving interpretations. The psychodynamic use of empathy for the purposes of illuminating the unconscious seems different from the client-centered focus on empathy as “communicative attunement”. In psychodynamic theory, the ultimate goal is to enter into the client’s experience to grasp an overall sense of what it is like to be the client, to understand how the client experiences and behaves in the world in a general sense (Bohart & Greenberg, 1997, p. 10).

When we talk about the processes of empathizing with other person, empathic accuracy also needs to be discussed. According to Ickes (1997), empathic accuracy is the measure of one’s skill in empathic inference. Empathically accurate perceivers are those who are consistently good at reading other people’s thoughts or feelings. Similar to Davis, Ickes also recognized that the cognitive component of empathy—the capacity to understand other’s internal states---most often had been labeled role taking or perspective taking (Ickes, 1997, p. 2).

Apart from being an important topic in psychology, empathy can also be regarded as a method of the human science (Koegler & Stueber, 2000, p. 23). The method of “transposing yourself into the other” was conceived as providing the human sciences with a methodological equivalent to observation in the natural sciences. The conception of empathetic transposition is thus driven by the ideal to



reach some objective ground and to discover the true object of understanding. In this vein, the transposition into the other and/or his/her situation is conceived as diminishing or even eliminating cultural or historical distance so as to overcome any obstacle to direct or immediate understanding. The elimination of contextual differences should allow the interpreter to see and experience a situation exactly as the author or figure did. Putting yourself in the other's shoes is to enable the re-experiencing or "reliving" of the original intentions that stand behind the expressions that make up the text, work, or action. Interpretation thus finds its scientific object in the intention that has inspired and driven the author or figure, and it employs the transposition into the other's context and mind-set as a method to engage in the immediate and first-personal reconstruction of that intention.

To conclude, empathy is perceived as consisting both cognitive and affective components which one can make use of so as to reconstruct other people's beliefs, values, goals and attendant feelings. In the process of empathizing with other person, empathic accuracy is required. One's own subjective thoughts and values should be eliminated in order to achieve genuine empathic regards.

### 2.3 Historical Thinking and Historical Understanding

The main focus of this thesis is “historical empathy”. Before discussing the meaning of historical empathy, we are going to discuss what is meant by “historical thinking” first. According to Davis Jr. (2001), [historical] empathy characterized historical thinking that yields enriched understanding within context. This means that historical empathy is one of the components in historical thinking, which enables better historical understanding.

Yeager and Foster (2001) stated that a substantial body of research has focused on students’ understanding of history, taking into account important aspects of historical thinking: the power of narrative and storytelling, historical imagination, the context and authorship of historical sources, detection of bias, the nature of conflicting accounts and interpretations, and the tentative and ambiguous nature of historical conclusions.

Sansom (1987) said that the rules of thought, which govern historical thinking, are the concepts of time, evidence, causation, change and motivation. He stated that secondary school students have clear potential for historical thinking. According to Sansom, historical thinking is to make sense of the concepts of change, cause, motive and evidence. He claimed that the task of historian is to come to conclusions about the interrelationships of events in the past. Those interrelationships are structured by two separate but related conceptual tools, the idea of change over time and the idea of causation. Each of these has been further associated with other concepts. Change has as its adjunct the idea of development or progress; and causation when applied to individuals takes on a more personal aspect in the idea of motivation. Sansom’s idea of historical thinking was based on the research findings of Shemilt (1980). Shemilt’s sequenced description of a dynamic thinking process in learning history will be discussed in the next section.



Fitch's idea about historical thinking is similar to Sansom. According to Fitch (2001), historical thinking skills includes chronological thinking, historical comprehension, historical analysis and interpretation, historical research skills, analysis and decision making in historical issues. Both of them emphasized the importance of the concept of time, the historians' task to interpret historical evidence and understand the motivations of different historical characters involved in historical events.

According to Soephr & Soephr (1994), thinking historically did not call for accumulation of facts, but discrimination and informed judgment. To think historically, one has to wrestle effectively with questions to which there is no single "right answer". To answer these questions, students must be able to suggest hypothetical responses and explain why they find one more or less persuasive than the others. Students must marshal evidence to support their chosen hypothesis and deal successfully with evidence and arguments that run counter to their thesis.

R. G. Collingwood, the highly regarded philosopher of history, had also explained the nature of historical thinking. Collingwood used the term "re-enactment" instead. Collingwood attempted to clarify the relationship between interpreting evidence and interpreting the thoughts and feelings of the people who made it. Collingwood (1946/1993) described the past as consisting of "particular events in space and time which are no longer happening". He also claimed "all history is the history of thought". He further raised a question: "how does the historian discern the thoughts he is trying to discover?" His answer was that, "by re-thinking them in his own mind". The historian not only re-enacts past thought, but also re-enacts the thought in the context of his own knowledge and therefore, in re-enacting it, criticizes it, forms his own judgment of its value, corrects whatever errors he can discern in it (pp. 282-283).



Re-enactment also requires imaginative ability. Without imagination, one cannot fill the gap between the past and the present as past events were remote and could not be experienced again by historians. To Collingwood, historical thinking relates to historical imagination within historical context. It is the historians who “re-think” the historical event in their own mind so as to reach a sensible interpretation of a particular historical event.

The notion of “historical imagination” was discussed by other scholars. Thomson (1969) stated that, “historical imagination” is to produce a range of valid interpretations involves thinking. He said that history had developed from chronicles of unrelated events into a discipline, which aimed to interpret different kinds of evidence in order to understand societies in the past. History is concerned with the causes and effects of change over time; with the ways in which and the reasons why, societies in the past were different from ours, and what caused them to change. Historians investigate the past by interpreting traces of the past, i.e., the historical evidence. They interpret historical evidence through a process of deductive reasoning, but such kind of evidence is often incomplete, and for this and other reasons, more than one interpretation may be defensible. In order to produce valid interpretation of the past, “historical imagination” is required so as to fill the gap between incomplete historical evidences.

To Booth (1994), the vast majority of historians are not concerned with inducing general laws or deducing conclusions from given premises. Booth stated the following:

“(historians) focus on the particular and, by using a range of sources, attempt to create an image of the past, a narrative story that is a blend of evidence and imagination. To use the word of “imagination” is not to suggest that the historian indulges in wild flights of fancy; on the contrary, to think historically is to make disciplined use of

head and heart, tempered by a proper consideration of the available evidence and a due regard to the constraints of time and place. Besides, his research pointed strongly to the fact that 14—to 16—year-old pupils are perfectly capable of construing the past in a genuinely historical manner; that school history, provided it is taught in a way that emphasizes the uniqueness of history and involves the pupils in active learning, can make a significant difference to adolescents' cognitive and affective behaviors" (Booth, 1994, pp. 64-65).

According to Booth (1994), another distinctive feature of historical thinking is the understanding of past events. Owing to the uniqueness of history, history deals with past events, which cannot be experienced again. The historical past events involve human actions and thought. Thus, historical thinking is not only concerned with adductive reasoning, evaluation and judgments, it also involves the understanding of past events. This kind of understanding is not merely a kind of epistemological understanding, but also implies "feeling into" the spirit of the past.

Historical thinking is the means to achieve historical understanding. Newton stated that understanding a historical event in the world of human affairs can amount to constructing a plausible account of it (Newton, 2000, p. 18). This is what Piaget (1978) thought that, only mental structures that answer the question "why" deserved to be called "understanding". In order to give a plausible account of an historical event, one has to understand why the historical character thought like that. This means we have to understand their motivations, which require historical thinking skills mentioned above. The way of thinking about this process is to envision oneself engaging in an "into, through, and beyond" approach of history. One wants to understand the factors that got one into an event, how the event transpired (through), and what happened as a consequence of the event. This kind of thinking process is what we called "historical empathy".



“Historical thinking” is the essence of learning history. To think historically, one has to gather evidences from the past as one cannot think in a vacuum. One has to analyze and interpret various kinds of historical materials. However, one cannot perceive the whole picture of a historical event since only partial historical evidence exists. In order to understand what and why a historical character thought and acted in a certain way, one has to “re-think” them in one’s own mind. Collingwood named this kind of re-thinking process as re-enactment (Collingwood, 1946/1993). That is what we called “historical empathy”. In the following section, Collingwood’s idea of “re-enactment” and the nature of historical empathy will be discussed in detail.



## 2.4 Historical Empathy

What is historical empathy?

Before discussing the recent research findings of historical empathy, we would look at the meaning of re-enactment in Collingwood's *The Idea of History*. As the past could not re-occur again, how can we re-enact it? According to Nielsen (1981), what Collingwood called "re-enactment" is a synonym for "reconstruction by interpretation of evidence". Collingwood has expressed that all history is the "history of thought". Thought could never be mere object. To know someone's thinking activity is possible only on the assumption that this same activity can be re-enacted in one's own mind. In that sense, to know "what someone is thinking" (or has "thought") involves thinking it for oneself (Collingwood, 1993, p. 288). We must not only re-enact another's thought but also be aware that the thought we are re-enacting is his. According to early methodological interpretations, especially by Walsh and Gardiner (cited in Nielsen, 1981), re-enactment is an intuitive method of explaining or understanding historical facts. Collingwood was taken to believe that it is possible for two minds to get into contact with each other's thoughts in a peculiarly intimate way, which must be considered "unique and self-intelligible", even if obtained only after "laboriously scrutinizing evidence of all kinds" (Nielsen, 1981, p. 5). In order to re-enact the thought of the historical characters, historical imagination is required. It is the basis of historical thinking.

As stated by Collingwood (1993), when a man thinks historically, he has before him certain documents or relics of the past. His business is to discover the past that has left these relics behind it. To discover what this thought was, the historian must think it again for himself. That means historians cannot think without any evidence. Although Collingwood agreed that imagination is important to historical empathy, he claimed that imagination must be localized in space and time; consistent with itself,



and the hypothesis or imaginary picture must not go against what is otherwise known or supposed to be known. Historical empathy must be achieved through process of disciplined reasoning based upon available historical evidence. That means, sophisticated historical empathy can only be accomplished through a thorough understanding of context, consequence and historical evidence. Students must first develop a solid knowledge base of past events so as to appreciate and understand past actions. They must also utilize the benefit of hindsight. As members of contemporary society, historians and students of history should use their unique contemporary perspective (and all the information available to them) to better understand past actions and events.

The above is only the preliminary stage of the process of historical empathy, In order to empathize with a historical figure, higher order thinking skills will be needed. MacIsaac (1996) explained Collingwood's doctrine of re-enactment as follows:

1. The historian must go through the thinking processes, which the agent went through in deciding on a particular course of action;
2. The historian must envisage the situation with which the agent was trying to deal, from the point of view of how the agent envisaged it;
3. The historian must see for himself, just as if the agent's situation were his own, how such a situation might be dealt with. This involves seeing the possible alternatives and the reasons for choosing one over the others (MacIsaac, 1996, p. 16).

To Nielsen and MacIsaac, "re-enactment" is a cognitive agent, which is a process of reconstruction by interpretation of evidence. In order to reconstruct historical events, one must have the abilities of perspective taking, historical imagination and decision-making. All these must be localized in specific space and time.

Foster (2001) also agreed with Collingwood's point of view on historical



imagination. Foster stated that there is always a misunderstanding that historical imagination means fancy free. On the contrary, he held that true history depends on cautious inquiry and close examination of available evidence.

However, the construct of re-enactment does not only consist of cognitive component. It also involves affective component. Re-enactment also involves the understanding of motivation and intention of a specific historical figure. To understand his/her motivation and intention, one has to feel what the historical figure's feel. As Reid (1986) said, feeling and thinking is inseparable in understanding in the arts, cognition alone is thus not sufficient for understanding. From Collingwood's point of view, re-enactment enables better historical understanding. We will have better historical understanding if we can understand the motivation and intention of the historical figures of specific historical events.

Collingwood's points of view really stimulated scholars of history and psychology. They used the term "historical empathy" instead of re-enactment. As we cannot re-enact the past event one more time or think like a particular historical character, it seems unrealistic to use the notion of "feeling into" or "re-enact" to explicate 'historical empathy'. However, as stated by Collingwood, "re-enact," means the ability to discover, for example, what the person who wrote the documents (historical materials) meant by them. To discover what this thought was, the historian must think it again for himself (Collingwood, 1993, pp. 282-283). In this sense, "historical empathy" is a cognitive agent, which enables a person to have better historical understanding. Most of the scholars' explanations about historical empathy are based on the idea of Collingwood. The nature of historical empathy and its role in historical understanding will be examined in the following part.

Researches concerning "historical empathy" have been launched in recent years. All of them tried to find out the nature of historical empathy and how it helps in



history teaching. Most of the researches predicated that historical empathy did enable the students to have a better historical understanding (Foster, 1999; Stern, 1998). According to Davis Jr., empathy characterizes historical thinking that yields enriched understanding within context. For the most part, it is intellectual in nature, but certainly it may include emotional dimensions. It arises or develops from active engagement in thinking about particular people, events and situations in their context, and from wonderment about reasonable and possible meanings within, in a time that no one can really know (Davis Jr., 2001, p. 3).

What is meant by “historical empathy”? Omdahl identified empathy as sharing the emotional state of the other. He held that “shared emotion” was associated with “perspective taking ability”, in which, situational cues were elicitors of empathy. Situational cues led a person to experience the same emotion as another person (Omdahl, 1995).

Ashby and Lee (1987) stated that, empathy in history is an achievement. It is where we get to when we have successfully reconstructed other people’s beliefs, values, goals and attendant feelings. To say a pupil has empathy is to say that he or she is in a position to entertain set of beliefs and values which are not necessarily his or her own history. Entertaining the beliefs, goals, and values of other people or of other societies is a difficult intellectual achievement. It is difficult because it means holding in mind whole structures of ideas, which are not one’s own, and with which one may profoundly disagree. Besides, one is also in a position to work with the beliefs, goals and values of other people in order to explain and understand what people did in the past. Understood as a shorthand for historical understanding, empathy involves feelings only in the etiolated way indicated by Collingwood (1993). Historical understanding is not itself a feeling at all. It is empathetically not “a” feeling, although it may involve recognizing that people had feelings. All these



require a high level of thinking (Ashby & Lee, 1987, p. 63).

Ashby and Lee had developed a set of categories for the development of children's understanding of, and strategies for achieving empathy. The categories were divided into five levels, namely (1) The "divi" past, (2) generalized stereotypes, (3) everyday empathy, (4) restricted historical empathy and (5) contextual historical empathy. The categories represent a logical hierarchy, in that successive higher levels subsume or replace the ideas of lower levels, and permit new questions, which open up new strategies for understanding. When children employ them in their encounters with the past, the assumptions made at lower levels create difficulties and contradictions, which are progressively reconciled by the assumptions and ideas available at higher levels. But the categories do not constitute a developmental hierarchy (See Ashby & Lee, 1987, pp. 66-85).

Cairns (1989) stated that the nature of empathy for an historian is that empathy in history took on the quality of understanding. Historical empathy is thus more than just a reaction or identification. One is trying to comprehend the goals and intentions of historical personages and the situations in which they acted and the reasons for their actions. To think empathetically, Cairns suggested that one must have "some appreciation of the information available to the historical character at the specific time when he or she lived; a perception of the modes of thought prevailing in the past situation and some knowledge of the individual historical character's experience and outlook" (Cairns, 1989, p. 13).

Stockley (1983) also stated that empathetic reconstruction in history is a vicarious experience, an imaginative and analytical interplay between the evidence and the person who tends to understand history. That is, evidence properly presented can "take the place" of personal experience, at the same time greatly expanding the range of those experiences and fostering an ability to understand people in other times



and places. In the everyday experience of “empathy”, one may have to rely on personal experience so as to understand the feeling and thought of other people. But as far as “historical empathy” (empathetic reconstruction) is concerned, a person who tends to understand history depends on historical evidences, rather than personal experiences, so as to generate vicarious experiences.

To many scholars, historical empathy was both an outcome and a process in historical thinking. As stated by Portal (1994), the importance of empathy would appear in the method used for the “presentation and teaching of evidence work, explanation, etc.... by introducing into all such work the circumstances and points of view of particular people.” (cited in Yeager & Foster, 2001, p. 16).

Portal emphasized that the first step in the development of historical empathy among students is that they are able to project their own ideas and feelings into an historical situation<sup>2</sup>. Second, he further stressed the importance of distinguishing the historical period in which the students are studying from their own. Third, he stated that students must be able to employ a collection of reference materials and contemporary sources appropriate to the topic at hand. Fourth, the development of empathy requires the presentation of a particular person or situation in terms that extend beyond the merely typical to encompass the unique circumstances of the case. Finally, Portal recommended the use of the two-sided narrative “where the inadequately empathic relationship between the historical participants leads to misunderstanding, conflict, and/or tragedy.” The use of two-sided narratives enables the students to develop general principles for understanding opposing viewpoints and for the study of successive, related events (cited in Yeager & Foster, 2001, p. 16).

To think empathetically, Cairns suggested that one must have “some appreciation of the information available to the historical character at the specific time when he or

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<sup>2</sup> This view of Portal is not shared by the author of the present thesis.



she lived; a perception of the modes of thought prevailing in the past situation and some knowledge of the individual historical character's experience and outlook" (Cairns, 1989, p. 13). To develop historical empathy, one must not project his own ideas and feelings into a historical situation, but rather understand why the historical character thinks and feels like that in specific historical situation.

Yeager, Foster & Maley (1998) explicated that a fundamental characteristic of the idea of historical empathy is concerned with the use of hindsight as a way to understanding and interpreting the past in a meaningful way. The appropriate application of historical empathy in understanding the past was a central element of the discipline of history. Seemingly, Downey (1991) got similar idea about historical empathy. But he used the term "perspective taking" instead. He emphasized that historical perspectives were not waiting to be discovered, like photographs; rather, they were constructed on the basis of facts and evidence. "Historical perspective" involved trying to escape one's own attitudes and worldviews in order to understand those of the past.

As observed by Yeager & Foster, all the above scholars held that historical empathy is the ability to understand historical events in the context of their time. They emphasized the importance of understanding the context and chronology of a particular historical event, the ability to distinguish the past and the present, the ability to analyze historical evidence, and the construction of a narrative framework through which historical conclusions are reached (Yeager & Foster, 2001, p. 14).

Concerning the qualities of historical empathy, Foster summed up into six facets. Firstly, historical empathy is a process that leads to an understanding and an explanation of why people in the past acted in that way. Secondly, it involves an appreciation of historical context and chronology in the evaluation of past events. To empathize, students must be aware of the key events, personalities and culture of the



period under scrutiny. Thirdly, historical empathy is reliant upon a thorough analysis and evaluation of historical evidence. Historical evidence is the engine of history. Students must be involved in the examination and interpretation of historical evidence to establish a more thorough understanding of past actions. Fourthly, historical empathy involves a discernment of the consequences of actions committed in the past. Students must be aware of the consequences of actions and be able to reflect thoughtfully on how the actions taken by any historical character affected future events. Fifthly, historical empathy demands an intuitive sense of a bygone era and an implicit recognition that the past was different from the present. In other words, people in the past must not be judged by the values, mores, beliefs and knowledge of today. To empathize effectively, students must begin to appreciate the sociopolitical and cultural forces of previous times. Finally, historical empathy requires a respect for, an appreciation of, and sensitivity towards the complexity of human action and achievement. Students must be aware that historical study is not a scientific process and that no absolute rules apply to the actions of humans in the past (Foster, 2001).

Furthermore, Shelmit (1984) had constructed a developmental model of empathetic construction of adolescents. After analyzing 150 in-depth interviews with carefully matched Schools Council History Project and control pupils, conceptual map were being constructed. He has set out schemes of pupil perceptions of the idea of cause, change, motivation and evidence which give an indication of the possible levels of understanding that we are likely to meet: the boundaries between the levels are not precise. They are points on a continuum and pupils are not consistent in their levels of understanding. The various levels of each concept are linked to a sequence of skills which relates to the use of evidence, empathy and chronology according to appropriate level.

Although Shelmit used a different term to explain “historical empathy”, he



emphasized the importance of appreciation of the past. Besides, he also emphasized that we should have considerate attitudes in studying the past event. We should not impose the point of views nowadays on the judgment of the past events.

To summarize, historical empathy is at the heart of historical understanding. It demands imagination strictly controlled by the context and the evidence. It is the attempt to get to grips with the strangeness of the past.

How can historical empathy be achieved?

To the secondary students in Hong Kong, the subject of history is remote, dull and dusty. The ability to empathize with the historical events/figures may bridge the gap between the students and the historical characters. If a history teacher could make use of the historical events as situational cues, he/she could lead the students to experience emotion as the historical figures did. When the students could take the perspective of the historical figures, they could get involved in the historical event and understand more thoroughly why a particular historical event happened.

Scholars have different point of views on how to achieve historical empathy. According to Omdahl (1995), empathy can be elicited by “situational cues”. In the discipline of History or Chinese History, situational cues are historical events. Besides, Shemilt (1984) suggested that two types of exercise might shape pupils’ thinking process in such a way that the result is a consideration of motivation in its historical context. The exercises are namely “empathetic dilemma problems” and “empathetic comparison problems”.

In empathetic dilemma problems, pupils are presented with some materials, from which they are asked to make a judgment about the likely action or reaction of a person in the historical situation. Having reached a ‘satisfactory’ solution, they are then presented with more materials which show the actual action. The problem of



resolving the empathetic dilemma problems open eyes to the position of the person in his motivational context.

In empathetic comparison problems, pupils have to compare the actions of a person in the past with the likely action of a modern counterpart. The historical character has to be understood in the context in one's own time's perception of moral and political rectitude rather than that of the present. The trend in empathy exercises is thus away from imagination towards explanations. To Shemilt, historical empathy is not only a historical concept, but also skills required for the learning of history (Sansom, 1987, p. 137).

VanSledright (2001) stated that, "historical empathy arose from a transaction between the inquirer and the historical artifact (secondary source, primary document, archeological find). The transaction was tempered continually by the inquirer's positionality (which turned on a set of tacit assumptions) as it intersected with that of the producer of the artifact. The transaction required interpretation. The interpretive act was couched within a historicized, present-day context and surrounded by implicitly-held temporal bearings that prescribe and direct the interpretive process" (VanSledright, 2001, p. 64).

Foster had designed an empathy exercise. The students were required to use an assortment of historical evidence, such as to understand, explain and evaluate why Chamberlain followed the policy of appeasement in his negotiations with Adolf Hitler in the fall of 1938. Through the above mentioned empathy exercise, students were drawn closer to historical events and were engaged in constructing a perspective on the past. Students had wrestled with the vagaries of historical events and thoughtfully understood, appreciated and evaluated the actions of a significant historical character (Foster, 1999, p. 24). In this way, the students would no longer think that the historical facts were "remote". Thus, historical empathy can facilitate the understanding of

historical events and the implementation of historical thinking.

### Historical empathy and the use of multiple source documents

As mentioned above, historical empathy cannot be achieved without sufficient historical materials. Simply speaking, multiple source documents provide contextual information for the students to get a full picture of a particular historical event, so that they can have thorough understanding of it.

Multiple source documents are important to the learning of history because they provide students with multiple perspectives on a particular event. According to Spiro, Coulson, Feltovich, and Anderson (1994), seeing an event through different perspectives is necessary for creating a rich understanding of an event or concept. This use of original material forces students to construct links across information presented in different documents. The information and the links connecting the different documents are remembered better if students make their own constructions rather than relying on textbooks or their teachers (Spoehr & Spoehr, 1994).

According to Vansledright and Frankes (1998), incorporating various types of literature into the history classroom might help students understand history as a human enterprise, comprising the creation of causal relationships and interpretations of these relationships. Diaries, journal accounts, newspaper articles, historical fiction, poetry, biography, and autobiography should all be included in classroom learning experiences to provide students with opportunities to engage in the methods of history.

Contextualizing a particular set of historical events is also crucial to the development of student's historical understanding. Literature provides contextual details pertaining to a particular time period. Literature can serve at least three significant purposes that, in turn, can advance student's historical understanding.



First, literature can provide a sense of context. Literature written during a historical period under study can provide important clues concerning how some people thought about their worlds at that time. Placing the past in its context is an indispensable aid in constructing a carefully honed understanding of a historical period, its set of events and its agents' motives.

Second, literature can assist students as they learn to take the perspective of others. All of us are trapped by our own present socio-cultural assumptions. We tend to view history from that presentist perspective. Historical literature can assist us getting into the heads and hearts of historical figures as they made mundane and not-so-mundane decisions, which are crucial to the way one understands that past.

Third, literature provides alternate interpretations of events. Even fiction can help us to imagine different ways of making meaning. Alternate interpretations via good literature are crucial to awakening students to the sort of thinking required for developing deep historical understandings (Vansledright & Franks, 1998, pp. 120-125).

Moreover, Wineburg discussed the recommendation of some historians that we should shed our presentist conceptions, immerse ourselves in the language of the past, and feel what past actors felt, and understand the connotations of the past actors that attach to words. We can come to know the past on its own terms only by renouncing our own condition (Wineburg, 1991, p. 508).

Research found that multiple source documents enable better historical understanding (Yeager & Doppen, 2001). However, students could not benefit much at all from just presenting with multiple source documents. Stahl, Hynd, Britton, McNish & Bosquet (1996) found that, students need to be taught, otherwise they will be less able to engage in historical analysis. As mentioned above, historical empathy is both an outcome and a process. Empathic exercise with multiple source documents

may resolve this problem. Students could have better historical understanding by reading multiple source documents with guided empathic questions and teacher's instruction. Students could empathize with specific historical figures within particular historical context with the aid of multiple source documents and teacher's instructions (Doppen, 2001; Levstik, 2001; Yeager & Foster, 2001).

### Historical empathy and sympathy

Indeed, empathy is always confused with the term "sympathy" (feeling with) because their meaning is similar. But Stockley (1983) claimed that "empathy" must not be confused with "sympathy". Feelings of empathy and understanding do not necessitate feelings of sympathy for the historical actors and their actions. Cairns (1989) also stated that sympathy is distinguishable from empathy, for in sympathy one is paralleling oneself and someone else. For instance, when one sympathizes with a bereaved person one is telling that individual about one's feelings and offering a symbol of one's regard. Whereas when one empathizes, one is doing more than this. One is trying to enter into the mind of another person and seeking to try out what one considers to be his or her thought and motivations.

Foster (1999) also held that historical empathy is not directly related to the concept of sympathy. He stated that historical study depends on reasoned objectivity. Emotional involvement with historical characters detracts from the fundamental purpose of history. Besides, empathy should not be viewed solely as a process by which students of history "get behind the eyeballs of people in the past" and "identify" with historical characters. No historian or student of history has the ability to embrace another person from a different place in time. Moreover, the process of identification ignores the perspective of hindsight and is alien to the principle that historians are contemporary interpreters of past events. Finally, historical empathy



should not be confused with imagination. Foster thought that those assignments required students to imagine they were present in a bygone age lead to an irresponsible and erroneous understanding of our past. He claimed that true history depended on cautious inquiry and close examination of available evidence.

The meaning of historical empathy is not the same as the meaning of “empathy” in the psychological aspect. The essential difference is that the historian is concerned with understanding the past, and as a consequence is not able, as the psychologist is, to confer with individuals in the present. Knight (1989) referred to the psychologist’s ability to establish a “reciprocal context” for a “contemporary relationship”, whereas the historian is concerned with the distance between the past and present. Shelmit (1980) saw this characteristic as unique to the historian: “It is this conceptual difference, this dislocation in the world view of past and present that the empathizing historian seeks to remedy.” Cooper concurred, stating that the psychologist’s meanings of empathy are of limited use in the study of history (cited in Cooper, 1995, pp.20-21).

#### Limitations of historical empathy

VanSledright (2001) stated that the emphasis on historical empathy is misplaced in several respects. It can be only a relative accomplishment rather than a full accomplishment. This is because of the nature of historical thinking.

Firstly, there is a lack of the right sorts of questions with which one can undertake thorough self-examination concerning one’s assumptions and experience- and knowledge-based theories of the world, about the past, and about a possible future.

Secondly, there is a lack of well-honed tools and sufficiently unbroken evidence chains to accomplish close investigations of and critical sensitivities to the

positionalities of the authors of historical texts/artifact. The ability of imagination seems to be the trustworthiest means to accomplish this.

Thirdly, VanSledright claimed that one could not stand outside one's present bearings from which one could make sense of the past. That means one could not fully contextualize the past, to get into the hearts and minds of our predecessors in ways that allow authentic empathic regard, to construct historical figures' intentions and subsequent acts, and to develop a full understanding of the historical milieu in which these agents operated.

Although VanSledright queried whether authentic historical empathic regards could be accomplished or not, it did not contradict to the notion of historical empathy discussed by other researchers. VanSledright (2001) admitted that multiple source documents provide contextual information for the students to engage in the process of historical empathy. Besides, the relentless examination of one's positionality is similar to the awareness that the past is different from the world one is living. One must not judge the past events by contemporary standards.

In view of enabling the attempt to account for and to explain empathic regard, VanSledright (2001) designed a series of specific questions. The questions will be discussed in the following section.

To conclude, the development of historical empathy in students is a considered and active process, which is to reconstruct, understand and make sense of the past (Yeager & Foster, 2001, p. 14). The construct of historical empathy is different from the construct of empathy in the field of social psychology since the subject in historical empathy is historical figure in the past while the subject in empathy is people of the contemporary world. Researchers admitted that historical empathy is an active engagement in thinking about particular people, events, and situations in their context, and from wonderment about reasonable and possible meanings within, in a



time that no one can really know (Davis, 2001, p. 3).

To sum up, the notion of historical empathy can be characterized as follows:

1. Historical empathy must be achieved through process of disciplined reasoning based upon available historical evidence. One must have a solid knowledge base of past events, which means, one must have a thorough understanding of context, consequence and historical evidence.
2. Multiple forms of evidence are significant for the development of historical empathy.
3. Historical empathy involves the appreciation of the past. One can realize there is difference between the past and the present, so that one can see for oneself, just as the historical character one tends to understand was one's own. One must concern particularly with the role of motivation and the interpretation of that motivation in particular historical character.
4. Apart from understanding the views of the historical character, one also has to examine one's own perspective. One has to examine historical evidence critically and skeptically.
5. One must see for them, just as if the historical character's situations were their own, how the historical character felt in that situation.

Based on the above characteristics of historical empathy, historical empathy could be categorized into three aspects: historical context, motivational aspect and affective aspect. In the aspect of historical context, one must have a solid knowledge base of past events. Multiple forms of evidences are important for historical empathy. With multiple source documents, one could have a thorough understanding of the historical context that the historical figure faced. This enables the development of the motivational aspect of historical empathy.

To develop historical empathy, one needs to go through the thinking processes,

which the agent went through in deciding on a particular course of action (MacIsaac, 1996). One needs to concern particularly with the role of motivation and the interpretation of that motivation in particular historical character. In order to achieve apt motives of specific historical figure, one need not judge him/her by the values, mores, beliefs and knowledge of today (Foster, 2001). To empathize effectively, students have to begin to appreciate the sociopolitical and cultural forces of previous times. One needs to envisage the situation with which the agent was trying to deal, from the point of view of how the agent envisaged it. One needs to think within the context that the historical figure was in. The information of that specific context comes from multiple forms of historical evidences.

The third category of historical empathy is “affective aspect”. In the development of historical empathy, feeling and thinking is inseparable (Reid, 1986). To feel what the historical figure’s feel is also significant in historical empathy. One must see for them, just as if the historical character’s situations were their own, how the historical character felt in that situation.

The above categories of historical empathy, namely “historical context”, “motivational aspect” and “affective aspect” were being used to assess the historical empathy of students in the present study.



## 2.5 Assessment of Empathy and Historical Empathy

### Measurement of empathy

According to Bohart and Greenberg (1997), how one measures empathy depends heavily on the kinds of research questions one asks. Developmental and social psychologists have been primarily interested in studying the relationship of empathy with prosocial and helping behavior. They have used measures that access an individual's ability to feel, experience or perceive the affective state of another person or their compassion for another person in distress.

In contrast, empathy as measured in therapy has typically focused on in-therapy behavior. There are four general classes of measures. First, therapists rate their own empathy. Second, clients rate the level of empathy provided by their therapists. Barrett-Lennard's Relationship Inventory provides scales for measuring both of these. A third way empathy has been measured is the application of the Interpersonal Process Recall. Clients listen to tapes of their own therapy sessions and rate the therapist's responses for the degree of empathy or misunderstanding. A fourth way empathy has been measured is to have objective raters listen to or observe tapes of therapy sessions and rate the therapist for the degree of empathy. The most well-known of these approaches was the work done by Truax & Carkhuff and their colleagues. In their systems, short samples of therapy sessions (two to four minutes) were rated on five to nine point scales for the degree of empathy shown by the therapist (discussed in Bohart & Greenberg, 1997).

Chlopan, McCain, Carbonell and Hagen (1985) reviewed three most popular empathy measures. The first one is the Hogan Empathy Scale (Hogan EM Scale). It aimed at measuring "the ability of an individual in putting himself in another person's shoes". Hogan first developed a criterion for rating subjects on empathy. Given the standard dictionary definition of empathy, four faculties and research psychologists



and three advanced graduate students were asked to describe a highly empathic man using the full 100-item California Q-sort. A composite description was obtained which had a reliability of 0.94. This composite was used as the empathy criterion. Hogan used the criterion to rate subjects on empathy. The existing Q-sort descriptions were correlated with the empathy criterion and the resulting correlation coefficient was designated as that individual's empathy score. Following the validity check of the criterion, Hogan began selecting items for the empathy scale. Finally, Hogan conducted extensive reliability and validity studies on the 64-items scale.

The second most popular empathy measure is the questionnaire measure of emotional empathy (QMEE) developed by Mehrabian and Epstein in 1972. QMEE is measuring vicarious emotional arousal and may even be tapping a general tendency to be arousable in various situations.

The third most popular measure is the Interpersonal Reactivity Index (IRI) constructed by Davis. Davis (1983) provided support for the notion of the Hogan EM scale as a measure of perspective taking ability and the QMEE as a measure of empathic concern. The IRI is of multidimensional nature and is a four-subscale measure that correlates well with both the EM and the QMEE (Chlopan, McCain, Carbonell & Hagen, 1985). The four subscales are: the perspective taking scale, the empathic concern scale, the personal distress scale, and the fantasy scale. Respondents were asked to indicate the degree to which the items describe themselves by choosing the appropriate point on a five-point scale running from 0 (does not describe me well) to 4 (describe me very well) (Davis, 1994).

Taken together, the Hogan EM scale and the QMEE measure empathy as the ability to take the other person's point of view and to become emotionally aroused to the distress of another. The IRI is based explicitly on a multidimensional view of empathy. It takes its starting point the notion that empathy consists of a set of separate



but related constructs and seeks to provide measures of dispositional tendencies in several areas. Above all, rating scales were widely used in the measurement of empathy.

### Assessment of Historical Empathy

In the fields of social and developmental psychology as well as counseling and therapy, rating scales were widely used in the measurement of empathy. However, qualitative method was adopted in the assessment of historical empathy.

Project CHATA (Concepts of History and Teaching Approaches 7-14) explored students' ideas about understanding past actions and institutions, building on earlier small-scale work carried out between the mid-1970s and mid-1980s. Three written task sets with different content but similar questions were completed by 320 students aged between 7-14, and all seven- and eight-year-olds were interviewed. In both task sets, responses were initially analyzed inductively, picking out recognizable ideas that could not be broken down into combinations of simpler ideas. These were then grouped into broader categories, and responses coded by two raters. Agreement between raters was calculated (Lee & Ashby, 2001).

Yeager and Doppen (2001) had carried out a preliminary study, which aimed at offering insights into students' understandings of historical empathy with specific illustrations from their responses to the questions. The study demonstrated the difference that the available evidence and contextual/chronological information made in the two groups' understandings and empathic responses. Eight high school juniors were chosen and asked to read accounts related to Truman's decision to use atomic weapons in Japan. One group (N=4) read an account from a standard high school history textbook. The other group (N=4) read a variety of excerpts from various kinds of sources. After reading the materials, the students wrote responses to the following

questions:

1. Based on the evidence you have at hand, construct a reasonable explanation of why you think Truman ordered the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki?
2. What factors affected his decision?
3. What were his options?
4. What are the short- and long-term effects of his decision? (Yeager & Doppen, 2001, p. 98)

Students' work, written notes and research memoranda of the initial reactions to the data were examined. Then, notes were shared among the students. Through ongoing discussion, characterizations and conclusions about the data were developed. Each written response was holistically analyzed for patterns and trends, thus creating a well-rounded portrayal of the students' thinking (Yeager & Doppen, 2001).

In the assessment of historical empathy, affective component is not the main target while the focus is on the cognitive component. Traditionally, such assessment is modeled upon the "imagine you were..." type of question. As observed by Cooper (1992), this may not always be the best way for testing empathy. Gard and Lee (1978, p. 32) had further explained "identification may distort or preclude the wider view of an agent and his circumstances which is essential to historical imagination. In any case historical imagination does not require taking the part of a historical figure: do we really want children to identify with Hitler?" Hempel (1943) suggested that, while it may be impossible for the historian to feel himself into the role of a paranoid historical personality, the historian may "yet be able to explain certain of his actions, notably by reference to the principles of abnormal psychology". Hempel went on to claim that the historian's ability to identify with his subject is thus irrelevant for the correctness of his historical explanation.

Downey's (1995) recommendations are also worth mentioning for evaluating



evidence of successful historical perspective taking. First, students must indicate that they realize the past being different from the present and that some historical outcomes were specific to time and place. Second, perspective taking must be measured in terms of the students' ability to distinguish between past perspectives and to shift from one to another from a relatively detached point of view. Third, students should be able to explain the perspectives they take and their consequences for the historical participants involved. Fourth, the perspectives students took must be grounded in historical evidence and be factually accurate.

## Chapter 3 Method

### 3.1 Hypotheses

As we have discussed in the chapter of literature review, students' historical empathy could not be achieved without adequate historical evidences and some instructions from the teachers. Portal (1987) claimed that a student's exposure to particular historical sources and to appropriate "empathic questions" is an important starting point in their inquiry. Thus, the present study specifically focuses on whether exposure to these sources and questions might stimulate empathic responses among students. Two hypotheses were proposed:

1. It is hypothesized that there will be significant difference between students who use multiple source documents<sup>3</sup> and those who have materials from textbooks only. Students who have multiple source documents will have higher scores in historical empathy than those who have materials from textbooks only.
2. It is hypothesized that there will be no significant difference in the historical empathy scores of the students in learning ancient Chinese history and modern Chinese history given that multiple source documents and appropriate "guided questions" are provided.

#### Rationale of the hypotheses

History is past event which cannot be experienced again. The past event is comprised of different historical figures. In order to fully understand a historical event, one has to understand why the historical figures thought, felt and acted like that. We can be acquainted with the historical events by the historical evidences that historians found. The role of historical evidences is noteworthy in the study of history. Historical

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<sup>3</sup> It should be noted that the groups of students using multiple source documents in the present study were also given the textbook materials.



evidences facilitate the performance of historical empathy, which comprises the understanding of a historical context, and the understanding of the motivational and affective aspects of a historical figure.

In local secondary schools, students mostly acquire the knowledge of history by means of textbooks. Textbook materials focus on the general picture of historical events. Only single viewpoint is offered. The disadvantage of textbook is that it may oversimplify the historical events. Specific historical figure are often not the emphasis of the textbook materials. It may be difficult for the students to empathize with a historical figure under the condition that they were provided with textbook materials only. On the other hand, multiple source documents can provide rich and stimulating information about the historical context and the historical figures. Different perspectives are provided with in the encounter with these documents. Based on the understanding of the nature of historical empathy and multiple source documents, it is reasonable to expect that the use of multiple source documents would elicit higher quality of historical empathy.

Researches also found that multiple source documents enable the development of historical empathy (Spiro, Coulson, Feltovich, and Anderson, 1994; Spoehr & Spoehr, 1994). One could get a more thorough picture about the past with the aid of multiple source documents. Researches found that incorporating multiple source documents in history teaching provides the students with more opportunities to engage in historical understanding (Perfetti, Britt, Rouet, Georgi & Mason, 1994; Stahl, Hynd, Britton, McNish & Bosquet, 1996; Yeager & Doppen, 2001). Yeager & Doppen (2001) found that students with access to a wide variety of historical sources were able to construct valid explanations and suppositions about sources in order to understand how people in the past might have felt and thought, and to begin to explain attitudes and values different from their own (Yeager & Doppen, 2001, p. 101).



On the basis of the above assumptions and research findings, the first hypothesis of the present study is derived. It is expected that when students are provided with multiple source documents concerning a specific historical figure, they would empathize with that historical figure better than they got textbook materials only.

Most of the researchers studied historical empathy in the context of modern history, mostly applied the cases in the Second World War (Riley, 2001; Yeager & Doppen, 2001). Empirical studies found that students could also empathize with a historical character in ancient history if they were given sufficient historical materials and guided questions (e.g., Ashby & Lee, 1987; Dickinson & Lee, 1984; Lee & Ashby, 2001). It should be noted that researchers often examined students' historical empathy using single historical event. No research has been done to see whether there is difference in students' historical empathy between ancient history and modern history. In the present study, we shall examine and compare both cases of ancient history and modern history.

In our local community, ancient history has often been regarded as "remote" to the students. It is generally held that students' performance in historical empathy upon ancient historical figure might be affected by the distance of time. Yet, we might further raise the question on the cause(s) of this sense of remoteness. Is it caused by the mere fact of time distance reflected by the number of years/ centuries? Or it could be attributed to the lack of accessible historical evidences that serve as the basis for imagination and understanding? Taking into consideration the nature of historical empathy and multiple source documents, together with the above mentioned empirical work done by Ashby & Lee (1987), Dickinson & Lee (1984) and Lee & Ashby (2001) with regard to ancient history, the second hypothesis of the present study is formulated. It is hypothesized that there would be no significant difference in students' historical empathy scores between ancient and modern history in the



condition that multiple source documents and appropriate “guided questions” are provided.

3.2 Participants

The participants in this study were two classes of Form three students (N=75) from a Band two boys’ school. All the participants had to study Chinese History from Form one to Form three. Thus, they should have basic historical knowledge of Chinese History, from ancient Shang (商) Dynasty to People’s Republic of China nowadays. The two classes had similar grades in Chinese History in the first term examination (2002-2003). The students were of similar background and they were randomly distributed into two groups (see Table 1 below), namely Group A (N=38) and Group B (N=37).

Table 1: Grouping of the participants

	Case 1: Chang Hsueh-liang	Case 2: Shang Yang
Group A (N=38)	Using multiple source documents	Using textbook materials only
Group B (N=37)	Using textbook materials only	Using multiple source documents

*Note.* The groups using multiple source documents were also given textbook materials.

### 3.3 Material and Procedure

#### Preliminary Considerations of the Research Design

Downey (1995) has concluded that the narrative-writing task was a more successful perspective-taking exercise than role playing and letter writing because students would have sufficient information and time to account for the perspectives they took and to construct explanations rather than merely describing historical points of view. Besides, students were able to shift from one perspective to another with relative ease in their explanation of causal relationships (Yeager & Foster, 2001). As memoir is a kind of narrative, it appears a suitable task for the students to express their empathetic response.

Besides, Portal explained that the most favorable vehicle for empathetic work was the two-sided narrative where the inadequately empathetic relationship between the historical participants led to misunderstanding, conflict, and/or tragedy (Portal, 1987, p.97). Those historical figures chosen in the present study had to face decision-making process in an intricate situation full of misunderstanding and conflicts, which fulfill the requirements of Portal (1987).

Based on the above considerations, participants of the present study were asked to write memoirs of two different historical figures in intricate historical situations.

The first one is Chang Hsueh-liang (張學良) of Kuomintang (國民黨) Army during the Sian Incident (西安事變) (Case 1). In the 1930's, facing the Japanese intrusion into China, the Chinese Communist Party (中國共產黨) promoted collaboration with all parties, groups, and armies in a grand alliance against Japan. On the one hand, the Nanking government had decided a policy of "domestic consolidation before an external war" (先安內後攘外). With the Communists pushed into a pocket in the Northwest, Chiang Kai-shek (蔣介石) was anxious to totally eliminate them. On the other hand, Chang Hsueh-liang, the general of the Northeast



army of KMT, wanted to ally with the Communist Party so as to fight against the Japanese army. Chang had to decide what to do. His solution turned out to be starting a mutiny, with Chiang as his captive, so as to force the KMT to ally with the Communist Party. In the place of Chang, the participants had to decide whether they should start the mutiny or not. There were many misunderstandings and conflicts in this case.

The second historical figure is Shang Yang (商鞅) of Qin (秦) during the Warring States period (戰國) (Case 2). During the period of Warring States (476-221 B. C), seven—mega states carried out reforms in order to increase their state power. Duke Xiao (秦孝公) appointed Shang Yang to carry out reforms at 359 B.C. However, the reform was opposed by the nobility of Qin. Shang Yang had to decide whether he should ignore the interest of the nobility and continue to carry out the reform. Misunderstandings and conflicts mentioned by Portal (1987) were also involved in this case.

Moreover, guided questions are needed in helping the students of the present study to project themselves to the historical figures in specific contexts. The questions were based on those designed in the research of Yeager & Doppen (2001), who traced the origin of their questions to the idea of Portal (1985). According to Portal, “adequate guided questions enable the students to project their own ideas and feelings into an historical situation, to encounter the ‘element of paradox’ so that they could distinguish the period they were studying from their own, to employ a collection of reference materials and contemporary sources appropriate to the topic at hand, to encounter a particular person or situation in terms that extend beyond the merely typical to encompass the unique circumstances of the case” (Portal, 1985, pp. 97-98).

According to Perfetti et al. (1994), historical documents can be sorted into three broad categories: secondary, intermediate and primary. The secondary documents



were documents written after the events, by a non-participant (historian or politician); they were published and were considered biased (authors supported opposing interpretations of the events). The intermediate documents were documents written either at the time or slightly after, by a participant in the events, with a biased perspective of either defending his or her own actions or commenting on other's actions. These kinds of documents were considered intermediate because each had features in common with primary documents but at least one feature that qualified it as an interpretation of the events. The primary documents were excerpts from letters, treaties and official correspondences. They were written at the time of or before the controversy. The authors were always participants. The purpose of the document was to state rather than comment.

In the present study, the use of "multiple source documents" was emphasized. Both primary and secondary documents were used. In Case 1, four primary documents and one secondary document were provided. The primary documents (Document A to Document D) were letters written by the representatives of Communist Party, KMT and Chang Hsueh-liang himself before Sian Incident. The secondary document (Document E) was written by a historian in 1993. The author tried to explain why the Sian Incident happened.

In Case 2, one secondary document (Document F) and three primary documents (Documents G to I) were provided. Document F, written by a historian in 1999, was about the background of Shang Yang's reform in Qin. Documents G to I are believed to be written by Shang Yang himself. Document G was a dialogue between Shang Yang, Duke Xiao and two officials discussing the feasibility of reform in Qin. Documents H and I reported the reform measures suggested by Shang Yang, which were against the interests of nobility.

In the textbook groups of both cases, textbook materials from three different



publishers were chosen. The choice of words was simple and straightforward, so as to suit the level of the students. The textbook materials explained the background, process and the consequences of both events. The groups of multiple source documents of both cases (Chang and Shang) were also given the textbook materials.

## The Actual Research Design

Participants of both groups (Group A and B) have to take the roles of Chang Hsueh-liang (張學良) of KMT (國民黨) Army during the Sian Incident (西安事變) and Shang Yang (商鞅) of Qin during the Warring States period, and then write a memoir in the role of each figure according to the guided questions.

In Group A, participants were given multiple source documents for Chang's case (Appendix A: Case 1) and textbook materials for Shang's case (Appendix B: Case 2). In Group B, participants were given multiple source documents for Shang's case (Appendix A: Case 2) and textbook materials for Chang's case (Appendix B: Case 1). It should be noted that the groups receiving multiple source documents were also given the textbook materials.

Participants of Group A were given 5 multiple source documents of Chang's case, which include primary and secondary documents. They were given excerpts from three different textbooks on Chang's and Shang's case respectively.

Participants of Group B were given four multiple source documents of Shang Yang's reform. One of the documents was secondary material while the others were primary materials. For both the case of Shang and Chang, the students were given excerpts from three different Chinese History textbooks.

The materials were given to the students one week before they wrote the memoirs. They had to read the materials at home. They were asked to sign a contract promising not to find other materials. They wrote the memoirs during a double-lesson of 70 minutes.

Brief instructions of writing the memoirs and explanations of the multiple source documents and excerpts from the textbooks were given to the participants of Group A and B, but they were not given any sample for completing the writing of memoirs.

The students had to imagine themselves as Chang Hsueh-liang (張學良) of the



KMT (國民黨) Army during the Sian Incident (西安事變) (Case 1), and Shang Yang (商鞅) of Qin during the Warring States period (戰國) (Case 2) with the help of guided questions respectively. The guided questions are as follows (for Chinese translation, see Appendix C):

#### Case 1

Historical context: In 1936, should Chang Hsueh-liang start the mutiny?

1. Why did Chang Hsueh-liang start the Sian Incident?
2. What forces affected his decision?
3. What were his options?
4. What did he feel after making the decision?

#### Case 2

Historical Context: Should Shang Yang carry the reform against the interests of nobility in Qin during the Warring States period?

1. Why did Shang Yang carry out the reform?
2. What forces affected his decision?
3. What were his options?
4. What did he feel after making the decision?

The first three questions were selected to elicit student's own interpretations of the historical figure's context and motivation (including decision making) based on both the benefits and limitations of historical evidence. The fourth question aims to stimulate the affective perception of the students.

Direct instruction was kept to a minimum in order to encourage the students to do their own historical thinking. Participants in both groups were encouraged to write as much as they can.

The memoirs were analyzed according to the criteria of historical empathy mentioned in the section of Analysis (refer to p. 54).

A follow-up interview was designed. Eight students, four from the group of multiple source documents in Chang's case and four from the group of multiple source documents in Shang's case were being interviewed. The interviews served two purposes. One of the purposes was to understand more about the thought process involved in the use of the materials and the writing of the memoirs. The interview questions designed by VanSledright (2001, pp. 64) were adopted. According to VanSledright (2001), "the question is not of empathy per se, but rather, it is one of the thought process required to construct a sense of historical context." (VanSledright, 2001, p. 65). The process to contextualize the past was considered important to the development of historical empathy. The questions were as follows:

1. How does the evidence permit this or that judgment of a historical agent's actions?
2. What other ways can these actions be understood given the evidence available?
3. How can the evidence be assembled in different configurations to help me maximize the sense I can make of the larger context of the period in question?
4. What might be the various attributes of that historical context given the evidence at hand?
5. What types of thinking must I do in order to build an understanding of this context?
6. How aware am I and must I be of the assumptions that I am making?
7. How do my assumptions influence the way I interpret the evidence and attempt to contextualize events and actions?
8. What would it take to see things from (a) different angle(s)?

The above questions aimed at reconstructing the thought process that would be required in constructing a sense of historical context.



The other purpose of the interview was to find out whether there were other factors that contributed to the development of historical empathy in the present study. After a preliminary examination of the data, it was found that students who had textbook materials only could also get high scores in historical empathy. It seemed that there was a factor other than multiple source documents, which enabled the students to empathize with the historical figures even they were given textbook materials only.

The possible reason was that, those students who were in the textbook groups had developed habits of reading history books. The following key questions focused on students' reading habits were raised: "Do you like to read history books?", "Which kind of history books you like most?" and "Why do you like that kind of books?"

The students who were invited to join the follow-up interview were of the following categories:

1. Two students getting high scores with the textbook materials but only medium scores with the multiple source documents.
2. Two students getting high scores with the multiple source documents but only medium scores with the textbook materials.
3. Four students getting similar scores with the multiple source documents and the textbook materials (two students with high scores in both cases and two students with medium scores in both cases).

The average time of each interview session was about 30 minutes. Notes were taken down during the interviews.

3.4 Analysis

The criteria for scoring students’ historical empathic response were derived from the idea of historical empathy summarized in the previous chapter.

A 3-point scoring scheme was applied so as to indicate to what extent do the students meet the criteria of historical empathy. The criteria are differentiated into three broad categories. The first one is “historical context”, the second one is the “motivational aspect” and the third one is the “affective aspect”. Table 2 shows the scoring scheme of the different criteria of historical empathy.

Table 2: The scoring scheme of the different criteria of historical empathy

Scores	Historical Context
2	Show reliance upon a thorough analysis and evaluation of factually correct historical evidences/facts
1	Show the capability of a partial analysis and evaluation of factually correct historical evidences/facts
0	See evidences as jigsaw of facts with pieces missing; see no need for supportive evidences; name obviously invalid historical evidences/facts
Scores	Motivational Aspect
2	Can step outside contemporary worldview and reconstruct historically apt motives. It is shown that one has gone through the thinking processes, which a historical agent had gone through in deciding on a particular course of action.
1	Show partial understanding of the motives and decision making of a historical agent. Attributions of a certain motive might be made from a present-day viewpoint.
0	Hold the view that motives are unimportant and/or the historical agents are intellectually/morally inferior; name obviously invalid motives of a historical agent
Scores	Affective Aspect
2	Can name historically apt feelings of a historical agent within specific historical context. One can even indicate the sources of such feelings either in the form of valid explanations or traces of underlying values, attitudes or beliefs.
1	Can name the feelings of a historical agent, but a certain feeling might be named from the perspective of a present-day subject rather than from that of a historical agent. The sources of such feelings are not made clear.
0	Cannot name any feeling at all or name obviously invalid feelings



It is assumed that the above three related aspects constitute historical empathy. Each criterion (historical context, motivational aspect and affective aspect) was applied to analyze the written memoirs respectively. With the three criteria, the total points of the students reflecting their historical empathy for each case can range from zero to 6.

After the students finished writing the memoirs, the raters examined their works. Three raters (including the researcher) were involved in the present study. Two of the raters (including the researcher) were history teachers who have teaching experience for more than six years. The other rater has graduated with master degree from the History Department of the Chinese University of Hong Kong.

Before rating the memoirs written by the students, the raters had to be trained with examples of narrative writings. Cohen's Kappa was applied to assess the inter-rater agreement and inter-rater reliability on the scores of historical empathy between the three raters. The assessment was made in precedent to any discussion. All raters did not know whether the memoirs they assessed were provided with multiple source documents or textbook materials. Subsequent to the report of inter-rater agreement and inter-rater reliability, further analysis would be based on the scores of the researcher.

For each criterion of historical empathy for both the case of Chang Hsueh-liang and Shang Yang, mean and standard deviation of the scores, as well as the frequency distribution, were assessed. Independent samples *t* tests were applied to examine the two hypotheses of the present study.

## **Chapter 4     Results**

The results are presented in seven sections. The first section shows some samples of memoirs written by the participants that were given a score of “2”, “1” or “0” in each of the three aspects of historical empathy. In the second section, the assessment of inter-rater agreement and inter-rater reliability of the scores are reported. The next section provides descriptive statistics of the historical empathy scores. The fourth section reports the correlational results between the three aspects of historical empathy. The fifth section focuses on examining the first hypothesis which expects that students who used multiple source documents would have higher scores in historical empathy than those who had materials from textbooks only. To test this hypothesis, the difference in historical empathy scores between the two groups of students was examined. The sixth section focuses on examining the second hypothesis which expects no difference in the historical empathy scores of the students in learning either ancient or modern Chinese history, given that multiple source documents and appropriate “guided questions” were provided. This hypothesis was examined by comparing the difference in the historical empathy scores between the encounter with a modern historical figure and with an ancient historical figure for the students who used multiple source documents. The results of the follow-up interview are reported in the final section.

### **4.1 Samples of Memoirs that Scored “2”, “1” and “0” in Each of the Three Aspects of Historical Empathy.**

A 3-point scoring scheme (“2” being the highest score, “1” the medium score and “0” the lowest) was applied to indicate the extent that the memoirs produced by the students meet the criteria of historical empathy. The criteria are divided into three broad categories. The first one is “historical context”, the second one is “motivational



aspect” and the third one is “affective aspect” (See Table 2 on p.54 for detailed descriptions of the scoring scheme of the different criteria of historical empathy). Samples of memoirs that scored “2”, “1” and “0” in each of the three aspects of historical empathy from each case are shown (in the form of excerpts) in the following tables (Tables 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3). Besides, other than the memoirs listed in Tables 3.1 to 3.3, excerpts from each case (i.e., Chang Hsueh-liang and Shang Yang) that received the highest score (i.e., “2”) in a certain aspect of historical empathy are listed in Appendix D. For the full version of the written memoirs that got the highest score in all three aspects of historical empathy (i.e.,  $2 \times 3 = 6$ ), please refer to Appendix G.

Table 3.1 Samples of memoirs that scored “2”, “1” and “0” in the historical context of historical empathy in Case 1 (Chang Hsueh-liang) and Case 2 (Shang Yang)

Case 1	Materials provided	
Score	Multiple source documents group	Textbook materials group
2	<p>S1: “At that time, China was facing troubles within and without the country. I was the general of the Northwest army of KMT. I had to fight against the Communist Party. On the other hand, Japanese militarism was intruding China. Japan invaded the north-eastern part of China persistently. However, our government was still at war with the Communist Party. Chiang Kai-shek (蔣介石) had decided a policy of “domestic consolidation before an external war” (先安內後攘外). He wanted to eliminate them once and for all. During these time, Mao Tse-tung (毛澤東) and Chou En-lai (周恩來) had asked me for the cooperation of Communist Party with the KMT so as to fight against the Japanese invasion. I also realized that the Mukden Incident of September 18, 1931 (九一八事變) and the Shanghai Incident of January 28, 1932 (一二八事變) caused serious damage to the citizens of our country.” (see Appendix F [1] for the original Chinese excerpt).</p>	<p>S3: “At that time, war occurred time and again. The Japanese took the chance of civil war between KMT and Communist Party and conspired to annex the north-eastern part of China. At that time, I belonged to KMT. Chiang showed firm determination on the policy of ‘domestic consolidation before an external war’. Although Chiang was my official superior, I thought that the promotion of ‘stopping the civil war and fighting against the Japanese’ was the best decision during that time. I received order to fight against the Communist Party and collaborated with the armies of Yang and Tong to attack the Red Army from both flanks. Unluckily we lost the war for many times. The morale of our armies was really low.” (see Appendix F [3] for the original Chinese excerpt).</p>
1	<p>S5: “During that time, Japan closed in upon China. The Communist Party promoted collaboration of all parties to fight against Japan.” (see Appendix F [5] for the original Chinese excerpt).</p>	<p>S7: “Witnessing China being annexed by other country, I must start the mutiny in order to protect the enduring history of China and protect the lives of Chinese people.” (see Appendix F [6] for the original Chinese excerpt).</p>



0	S36: "I started the Sian mutiny because of the influence of Chiang." (see Appendix F [7] for the original Chinese excerpt).	S37: "If I did not start the mutiny with Yang, you would have been insulted by the Japanese in the concentration camp." (see Appendix F [8] for the original Chinese excerpt).
<b>Case 2</b>	<b>Materials provided</b>	
<b>Score</b>	<b>Multiple source documents group</b>	<b>Textbook materials group</b>
2	S20: "During the Warring States period, seven Warring States fought against each other. In order to strengthen the country, all of the emperors carried out reforms. At that time, Qin was being discriminated as barbarian states. Qin had not been invited to attend the meetings held by the other 6 Warring States. Duke Xiao felt embarrassed. He wanted to reform militarily and economically in order to strengthen Qin as the most powerful country. Duke Xiao published official statement to seek men of great talents." (see Appendix F [23] for the original Chinese excerpt).	S22: "Before the Spring and Autumn period, Qin lagged behind the other states politically, economically and culturally. That's why I decided to carry out reforms so as to strengthen Qin economically and militarily. The reform aimed at weakening the power of nobility, so as to stabilize Qin's political status. There were different kinds of measures which related to nobility, such as awards for military achievements, reduction of nobility, private possession of land and the rule of law." (see Appendix F [25] for the original Chinese excerpt).
1	S24: "I came to this barbarian state of Qin because Duke Qin sought men of great talent. I proposed to carry out reform in Qin so as to strengthen the country." (see Appendix F [27] for the original Chinese excerpt).	S26: "Qin was discriminated by the other six Warring States. She could not join the alliances of the Warring States. That's why I carried out reform in Qin." (see Appendix F [28] for the original Chinese excerpt).
0	S40: "I am Shang Yang. In order to strengthen the country militarily and economically, I advised Emperor Qin to carry out reform." (see Appendix F [29] for the original Chinese excerpt).	S41: "At that time, my dad and mom asked me to develop my career. I left my own country courageously and went to Qin. Luckily, Emperor Qin appreciated me and asked me to carry out reform in Qin and to put accountability system into practice." (see Appendix F [30] for the original Chinese excerpt).

Table 3.2 Samples of memoirs that scored “2”, “1” and “0” in the motivational aspect of historical empathy in Case 1 (Chang Hsueh-liang) and Case 2 (Shang Yang)

Case 1	Materials provided	
Scores	Multiple source documents group	Textbook materials group
2	<p>S1: “In fact, I can still follow the policy of Chiang to eliminate the Communist Party. However, the Japanese troops closed in upon us and killed many Chinese people. I decided to start the mutiny. To look back, I was in great dilemma during that time. I felt regret. It seemed that I betrayed KMT and Chiang. On the other hand, the demand of Communist Party was reasonable. At that time, China was nearly annexed by Japan. Under such circumstances, I decided to start the mutiny, so as to collaborate with the Communist Party to fight against Japanese invasion.” (see Appendix F [9] for the original Chinese excerpt).</p>	<p>S12: “At that time, I was the general of KMT. I had told Chiang about the importance of collaboration with the Communist Party to fight against the Japanese. However, he refused me. Then, I started the mutiny in the hope that KMT could collaborate with the Communist Party so as to fight against the Japanese invasion. During that time, popular pressure mounted feverishly demanding an end to the civil war and the turning of guns against the Japanese. In response to the public demand, I started the mutiny. But I was in great dilemma. I was hesitated to fight against the Communist Party or the Japanese troops. If I continued to fight against the Communist Party, our country might be destroyed by the Japanese.” (see Appendix F [12] for the original Chinese excerpt).</p>
1	<p>S14: “In 1936, I requested Chiang to stop the civil war and collaborate with the Communist Party to fight against the Japanese army. However, Chiang refused my proposal again and again. As the Japanese army invaded China continuously, I finally kept Chiang under detention.” (see Appendix F [14] for the original Chinese excerpt).</p>	<p>S16: “At that time, Chiang refused to collaborate with the Communist Party to fight against the Japanese. He was imprisoned by me until he agreed the collaboration with the Communist Party.” (see Appendix F [15] for the original Chinese excerpt.)</p>



0	S44: "Under the influence of Chiang, I started the mutiny." (see Appendix F [16] for the original Chinese excerpt).	S37: "If I did not kidnap you, I would have to fight against the Communist Party. I did not want to be blamed by all Chinese people. My reputation was closely related to the mutiny." (see Appendix F [8] for the original Chinese excerpt).
<b>Case 2</b>	<b>Materials provided</b>	
<b>Score</b>	<b>Multiple source documents group</b>	<b>Textbook materials group</b>
2	S28: "When I arrived at the state of Qin, I knew that the salary of the nobility was really high. The tax they received was also very high. The young noblemen were lazy. Government affairs were being neglected. The Government officials were irresponsible. The soldiers did not want to fight against the enemies. On the contrary, people had to work hard in order to pay the tax. I knew that Qin would be destroyed if the situation continued. Thus, I decided to carry out reform. The reform was opposed by some of the noblemen. The result was not significant. Therefore, I started a new reform pointing exactly against the nobility. Finally, the reform succeeded." (see Appendix F [32] for the original Chinese excerpt).	S29: "I remembered that I was strongly opposed by the nobility when I carried out reform in Qin as the property of the nobility was reduced.....the power of the nobility was weakened by the reform. The nobility only thought of their own interest, and the interest of people was neglected. I had considered giving up the reform. But finally I decided to continue the reform for the interest of people" (See Appendix F [33] for the original Chinese excerpt).
1	S30: "Since all the states were carrying out reforms, Qin would lag behind if she did not do so." (see Appendix F [34] for the original Chinese excerpt).	S32: "Although the nobility opposed to the reform, I finally put the reform into practice." (see Appendix F [35] for the original Chinese excerpt)

0	<p>S45: “The policy of Qin was in failure. As Emperor Qin appreciated me, I made this decision. I chose to continue and I felt excited.” (see Appendix F [36] for the original Chinese excerpt).</p>	<p>S41: “At that time, my dad and mom asked me to develop my career. I left my own country courageously and went to Qin. Luckily, Emperor Qin appreciated me and asked me to carry out reform in Qin and to put accountability system into practice.” (see Appendix F [30] for the original Chinese excerpt).</p>
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Table 3.3 Samples of memoirs that scored “2”, “1” and “0” in the affective aspect of historical empathy in case 1 (Chang Hsueh-liang) and case 2 (Shang Yang)

Case 1	Materials provided	
Score	Multiple source documents group	Textbook materials group
2	S1: “To think back the days when I started the mutiny, I felt contradictory at that time. I also felt difficult as I was just like a rebel. I betrayed Chiang and the KMT. On the other hand, I thought that the request of the Communist Party was reasonable since the situation was tense at that time. Japan was going to annex China at any time. Although I felt contradictory, I decided to start the mutiny.” (see Appendix F [17] for the original Chinese excerpt).	S19: “When I made this decision, I felt very difficult. It’s because I had betrayed other people. The feeling of betraying others was really unbearable. In the case of betrayal, the one being betrayed was kept in ignorance. Even I felt very painful, I thought that Chiang would feel more painful than me when he knew Yang and I betrayed him. I finally knew the despicable character of human being as I betrayed Chiang.” (see Appendix F [18] for the original Chinese excerpt).
1	S38: “I was in great dilemma which no one could imagine.” (see Appendix F [19] for the original Chinese excerpt).	S39: “I felt uneasy at heart when I stepped into the room of Chiang.” (see Appendix F [20] for the original Chinese excerpt).
0	S46: “I am the initiator of Sian Incident, Chang Hsueh-liang. During that time, Japan and Russia annexed our country. Japan invaded China fiercely in 1936. Our people’s anti-Japanese thought was aroused by Japanese invasion of Northern China and Mongolia. Anti-Japanese troops set up. Anti-Japanese invasion could be achieved in the condition that civil war came to an end.” (see Appendix F [21] for the original Chinese excerpt).	S47: “Until now, I believed that no one would have such determination to destroy the Communist party, except Chiang. All the Chinese people were united together to fight against the Japanese. From the time of the Mukden Incident of September 18, 1931, anti-Japanese groups established all over China. Anti-Japanese feeling was in high tide after the Beijing student movement in January. However, the KMT government still insisted the policy of domestic consolidation before an external war.” (see Appendix F [22] for the original Chinese excerpt).

Case 2	Materials provided	
Score	Multiple source documents group	Textbook materials group
2	S34: “I felt frustrated. I have to strengthen the country on the one hand and not to offend the nobility on the other hand. It’s really hard for me to decide……I really wanted to strengthen Qin from the bottom of my heart.” (see Appendix F [37] for the original Chinese excerpt)	S35: “I felt confident even the reform was opposed by the nobility. However, I was in great dilemma when I made the decision of carrying out the reform.” (see Appendix F [38] for the original Chinese excerpt)
1	S42: “He felt that it’s his own honor which made it impossible to refuse. (see Appendix F [39] for the original Chinese excerpt).	S43: “I felt worried when I decided the way I carried out the reform.” (see Appendix F [40] for the original Chinese excerpt).
0	S48: “I am Shang Yang. I am very powerful. As Emperor Qin sought men of great talent, I go to Qin. I become Emperor Qin’s assistant and Qin is strengthened.” (see Appendix F [41] for the original Chinese excerpt).	S49: “Compare with the other countries, Qin was left behind politically, economically and culturally. During the Warring States period, Emperor Qin decided to carry out reform so as to compete with the other countries. Shang Yang carried out two reforms in order to strengthen Qin But the nobility opposed the reform since their privileges would be lessened.” (see Appendix F [42] for the original Chinese excerpt).

The students who received the highest scores (i.e., “2”) were those who could write the memoirs with factually correct historical evidences and reconstruct historically apt motives and feelings of the specific historical figure. Besides, the memoirs that received the highest scores were longer (referring to the original writings) and made fuller use of the materials provided than those that received lower scores (see Appendix D for further remarks of Table 3.1 to 3.3).

The students who received the medium score (i.e., “1”) were those who could write the memoirs with partial analysis and evaluation of factually correct historical evidences. They could show partial understanding of the motives and decision making



of a historical figure that may be affected by a present-day viewpoint. Further, they could only use very limited wordings to describe the feelings of the historical figure. The sources of such feelings were not made clear. Compared to those memoirs that received the highest score, the memoirs of medium score were shorter and made fewer use of the materials provided.

The students who got the lowest score (i.e., "0") were those who constructed the historical context and motives of the historical figure with invalid historical evidences. They could not even describe any feeling of the specific historical figure. The length of the memoirs written by those students who got the lowest score was the shortest among all the memoirs.

## 4.2 Assessment of Inter-rater Agreement and Inter-rater Reliability on the Historical Empathy Score

The inter-rater agreement and inter-rater reliability of the scores, assessed with Cohen’s Kappa, is summarized in Table 4 below.

Table 4 Inter-rater agreement and inter-rater reliability on the historical empathy scores<sup>a</sup>

	Chang Hsueh-liang						Shang Yang					
	MS group			TB group			MS group			TB group		
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III
Historical Context	0.87	0.63	Substantial	0.68	0.22	Fair	0.70	0.45	Moderate	0.78	0.20	Slight
Motivational Aspect	0.71	0.49	Moderate	0.63	0.28	Fair	0.63	0.31	Fair	0.78	0.40	Fair
Affective Aspect	0.73	0.48	Moderate	0.74	0.38	Fair	0.79	0.56	Moderate	0.78	0.55	Moderate

*Note.* MS group = Group of students using multiple source documents (including textbook materials)  
TB group =Group of students using textbook materials  
I: Overall mean of agreement among raters<sup>b</sup> N<sub>rater</sub>=3  
II: Overall mean of Kappa among raters<sup>c</sup> N<sub>rater</sub>=3  
III: Strength of Agreement<sup>d</sup> N<sub>rater</sub>=3  
a. Calculations are based on Schuerman (1993).  
b. The overall mean of agreement is the average of proportions of agreement between raters, taken pairwise.  
c. Kappa values can be interpreted as the proportion of agreement beyond that expected by chance alone (Fleiss & Cohen, 1973; Posner, Sampson, Caplan, Ward & Cheney, 1990).  
d. Strength of agreement is based on Landis and Koch (1977):

Kappa statistic	Strength of agreement
<0.00	Poor
0.00-0.20	Slight
0.21-0.40	Fair
0.41-0.60	Moderate
0.61-0.80	Substantial
0.81-1.00	Almost perfect

As indicated in the above table, the inter-rater agreement and inter-rater reliability of the scores range from fair to substantial except one case only (i.e., “slight” in the historical context of Shang Yang’s case). Further analyses were based on the scores given by the first rater (i.e., the researcher of the present study), who is



supposed to have the best understanding in applying the criteria of historical empathy. The researcher, as well as the other two raters, have assessed the memoirs without knowing if the writers were in the multiple source documents group or the textbook materials group.

### 4.3 Descriptive Statistics

The means and standard deviations of the historical empathy scores

The means and the standard deviations of the three categories of historical empathy scores are presented in Table 5.

Table 5 The means and standard deviations of the historical empathy scores

Chang Hsueh-liang (modern historical figure)					Shang Yang (ancient historical figure)			
	The combined score of historical empathy	Historical Context	Motivational Aspect	Affective Aspect	The combined score of historical empathy	Historical Context	Motivational Aspect	Affective Aspect
MS group	3.58 (1.48) <sup>a</sup>	1.13 (0.47) <sup>a</sup>	1.37 (0.63) <sup>a</sup>	1.08 (0.67) <sup>a</sup>	3.05 (1.67) <sup>b</sup>	1.08 (0.68) <sup>b</sup>	1.14 (0.63) <sup>b</sup>	0.84 (0.65) <sup>b</sup>
TB group	3.62 (1.16) <sup>b</sup>	1.16 (0.50) <sup>b</sup>	1.38 (0.54) <sup>b</sup>	1.08 (0.55) <sup>b</sup>	3.18 (1.06) <sup>a</sup>	1.21 (0.47) <sup>a</sup>	1.21 (0.47) <sup>a</sup>	0.76 (0.49) <sup>a</sup>

*Note.* MS group = group of students using multiple source documents (including textbook materials)  
TB group = group of students using textbook materials  
a: N=38  
b: N=37

From Table 5, we can observe a very slight difference between the mean scores in the MS and the TB groups in all criteria of historical empathy. The mean scores in the TB group in both cases, Chang Hsueh-liang and Shang Yang, were slightly higher than those in the MS group except in the category of affective aspect in Shang Yang’s

case (MS=0.84, TB=0.76). It was observed that individual differences were larger in the MS group of Chang's case in both motivational aspect (SD=0.63) and affective aspect (SD=0.67). Individual differences in the MS group of Shang Yang's case were also larger than those in the TB groups in all aspects of historical empathy (SD=0.68, 0.63 and 0.65 respectively).

In both cases, the highest mean scores were found in the motivational aspect. The scores were slightly higher in the textbook materials group than the multiple source documents group. The lowest mean scores were found in the affective aspect. The mean scores for the affective aspect of the Shang Yang case were comparatively lower in both groups (MS= 0.84 and TB=0.76) than the other two aspects of historical empathy.

In the multiple source documents group, the mean scores were higher in the Chang Hsueh-liang case than the Shang Yang case in the three aspects of historical empathy. Whether the differences in the three aspects of historical empathy between Chang's and Shang's case are significant or not would be further analyzed with *t* tests in the next section.

The individual difference was larger in the multiple source documents group within both cases of Chang and Shang than in the textbook materials group (except in the aspect of historical context within Chang's case).

#### Frequency distribution of the historical empathy scores

The frequency distribution of the historical empathy scores is shown in the following Figures 1.1 to 1.6 and summarized in Table 6.



Fig. 1.1 Frequencies and percentages of the historical empathy scores  
in historical context  
The case of Chang Hsueh-liang

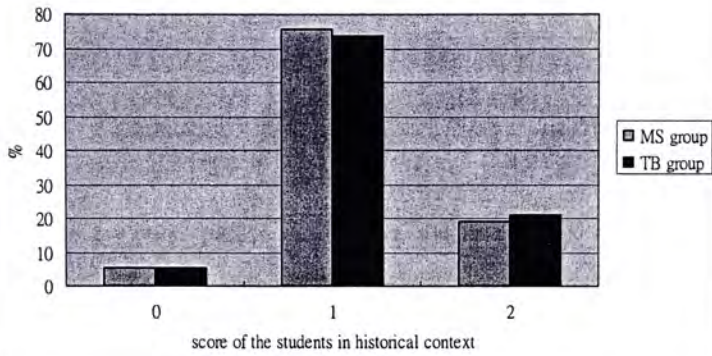


Fig. 1.2 Frequencies and percentages of the historical empathy scores  
in motivational aspect  
The case of Chang Hsueh-liang

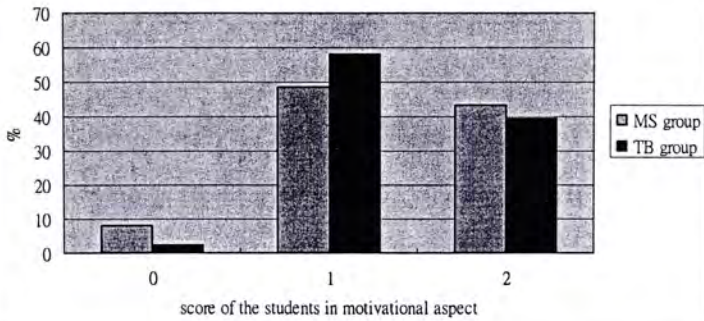


Fig. 1.3 Frequencies and percentages of the historical empathy scores  
in affective aspect  
The case of Chang Hsueh-liang

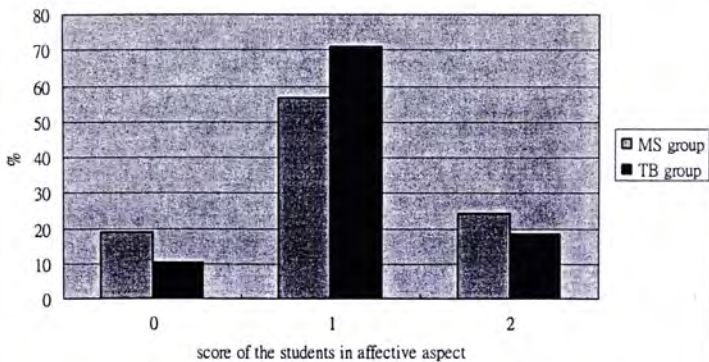


Fig. 1.4 Frequencies and percentages of the historical empathy scores  
in historical context  
The case of Shang Yang

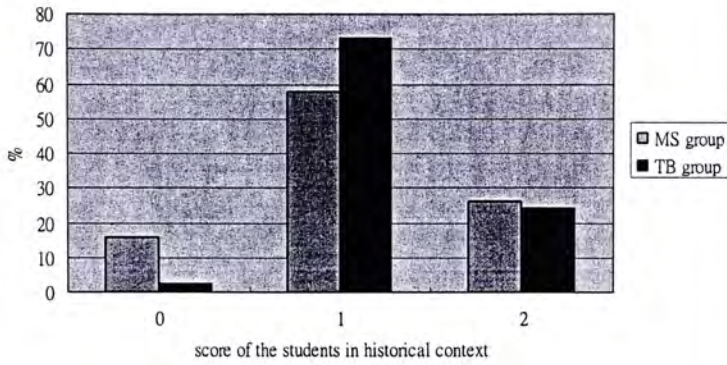


Fig. 1.5 Frequencies and percentages of the historical empathy scores  
in motivational aspect  
The case of Shang Yang

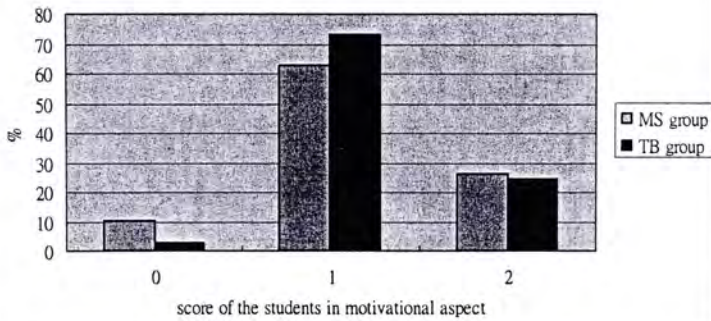


Fig. 1.6 Frequencies and percentages of the historical empathy scores  
in affective aspect  
The case of Shang Yang

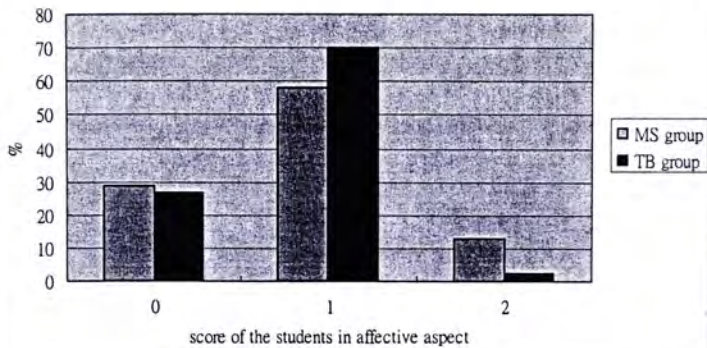




Table 6    Frequencies and percentages of the historical empathy scores

		Chang Hsueh-liang									Shang Yang								
		Historical Context			Motivational Aspect			Affective Aspect			Historical Context			Motivational Aspect			Affective Aspect		
		0	1	2	0	1	2	0	1	2	0	1	2	0	1	2	0	1	2
MS	N	2	29	7	3	19	16	7	22	9	6	21	10	4	23	10	11	21	5
group	%	5.2	76.3	18.4	7.9	50.0	42.1	18.4	57.9	23.7	16.2	56.8	27.0	10.8	62.1	27.0	29.7	56.8	13.5
TB	N	2	27	8	1	21	15	4	26	7	1	28	9	1	28	9	10	27	1
group	%	5.4	72.9	21.6	2.7	56.7	40.5	10.8	70.2	18.9	2.6	73.7	23.7	2.6	73.7	23.7	26.3	71.1	2.6
Note.		MS group = Group of students using multiple source documents (including textbook materials)																	
		TB group =Group of students using textbook materials																	

Figures 1.1 to 1.6 and Table 6 show that the majority of students (ranging from 50.0% to 76.3%) obtained the medium scores (i.e., “1”). In Chang’s case, students in both multiple source documents group and textbook materials group (see Figure 1.2) performed better in motivational aspect (42.1% of students got 2 points in the multiple source documents group and 40.5% of students got 2 points in the textbook group) than in the aspect of historical context and affective aspect.

In Shang’s case, it was observed that students’ performances were better in historical context and motivational aspect (27.0% of the multiple source documents group got 2 points while 23.7% of the textbook group got 2 points in both of the two aspects [see Figures 1.4 and 1.5]).

4.4    Correlational Analysis of the Three Categories of Historical Empathy

Prior to investigating the major hypotheses, the relations between the three aspects of historical empathy (historical context, motivational aspect and affective aspect) in the multiple source documents group and the textbook materials group with respect to the cases of Chang and Shang were examined. It is expected that the three aspects of historical empathy (aspect of historical context, motivational aspect and affective aspect) are related to each other. Results of the correlational analysis are

presented in Table 7.1 to Table 7.4.

Table 7.1 Correlations between the three aspects of historical empathy scores (aspect of historical context, motivational aspect and affective aspect) in the multiple source documents group of Chang’s case (N=38)

	Correlational coefficients ( <i>r</i> )		
	Score in the historical context	Score in the motivational aspect	Score in the affective aspect
Score in the historical context	1.00		
Score in the motivational aspect	0.55**	1.00	
Score in the affective aspect	0.56**	0.50**	1.00
Note.	** <i>p</i> <.01		

Table 7.2 Correlations between the three aspects of historical empathy scores (aspect of historical context, motivational aspect and affective aspect) in the textbook materials group of Chang’s case (N=37)

	Correlational coefficients ( <i>r</i> )		
	Score in the historical context	Score in the motivational aspect	Score in the affective aspect
Score in the historical context	1.00		
Score in the motivational aspect	0.81**	1.00	
Score in the affective aspect	0.54**	0.40*	1.00
Note.	** <i>p</i> <.01 * <i>p</i> <.05		

Table 7.3 Correlations between the three aspects of historical empathy scores (aspect of historical context, motivational aspect and affective aspect) in the multiple source documents group of Shang’s case (N=37)

	Correlational coefficients ( <i>r</i> )		
	Score in the historical context	Score in the motivational aspect	Score in the affective aspect
Score in the historical context	1.00		
Score in the motivational aspect	0.48**	1.00	
Score in the affective aspect	0.15	0.27	1.00
Note.	** <i>p</i> <.01		



Table 7.4 Correlations between the three aspects of historical empathy scores (aspect of historical context, motivational aspect and affective aspect) in the textbook materials group of Shang’s case (N=38)

	Correlational coefficients ( <i>r</i> )		
	Score in the historical context	Score in the motivational aspect	Score in the affective aspect
Score in the historical context	1.00		
Score in the motivational aspect	0.64**	1.00	
Score in the affective aspect	0.10	0.22	1.00

Note.       \*\* *p*<.01

As shown in Table 7.1 and Table 7.2, the three aspects of historical empathy (historical context, motivational aspect and affective aspect) in the multiple source documents group and the textbook materials group of Chang’s case were all significantly correlated. In particular, the score of historical context was substantially correlated with the scores of the motivational and affective aspects respectively.

In Shang’s case, only the scores of historical context and of motivational aspect were significantly correlated. No significant correlation was found between other aspects of historical empathy. These results were applied to both the multiple source documents group and the textbook materials group (see Table 7.3 and 7.4).

The above analysis represents a preliminary attempt to explore the relations between various essential aspects of historical empathy. On both the conceptual and the empirical level, it is worthwhile for us to further examine such relations.

4.5 Results of Hypothesis One

For both ancient and modern historical figures (i.e., Shang Yang and Chang Hsueh-liang respectively), one score was given for each of the three aspects of historical empathy and the three scores were summed up into a combined score. Therefore, we need to apply eight independent samples *t* tests to find out if there are significant differences between the group using multiple source documents and the

group using textbook materials in the scores of the historical context, the motivational aspect, the affective aspect, as well as the combined score. We hypothesized that the group with the support of multiple source documents would perform better than the group using textbook materials in eliciting historical empathy. Contrary to our expectation, there is no significant difference between the multiple source documents and textbook materials groups in all the eight *t* tests (see Table 8).

Table 8 Summary of *t* test results on students' historical empathy scores between the multiple source documents group and the textbook materials group in Chang's case and Shang's case

Historical empathy scores	MS group	TB group	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
	Means and standard deviations			
<i>Chang's case</i>				
Scores in the historical context	1.13 (0.47) <sup>a</sup>	1.16 (0.50) <sup>b</sup>	-0.27	0.79
Scores in the motivational aspect	1.37 (0.63) <sup>a</sup>	1.38 (0.54) <sup>b</sup>	-0.07	0.94
Scores in the affective aspect	1.08 (0.67) <sup>a</sup>	1.08 (0.55) <sup>b</sup>	-0.02	0.99
Combined scores of historical empathy	3.58 (1.48) <sup>a</sup>	3.62 (1.16) <sup>b</sup>	-0.14	0.89
<i>Shang's case</i>				
Scores in the historical context	1.08 (0.68) <sup>b</sup>	1.21 (0.47) <sup>a</sup>	0.96	0.34
Scores in the motivational aspect	1.14 (0.63) <sup>b</sup>	1.21 (0.47) <sup>a</sup>	0.59	0.56
Scores in the affective aspect	0.84 (0.65) <sup>b</sup>	0.76 (0.49) <sup>a</sup>	-0.57	0.57
Combined scores of historical empathy	3.05 (1.67) <sup>b</sup>	3.18 (1.06) <sup>a</sup>	0.41	0.69

*Note.* MS group= group of students using multiple source documents (including textbook materials)  
 TB group= group of students using textbook materials  
 a: N=38  
 b: N=37

To examine the hypothesis further, we studied the memoirs written by the two groups more closely to see if they might differ in some qualitative aspects that were not captured by the scoring scheme. But we could find no obvious qualitative difference in the memoirs written by the two groups in either Chang's or Shang's case.

As the sample memoirs (Tables 3.1-3.3) show, regardless of group membership



(i.e., materials provided), the memoirs that received the same scores were similar in many aspects. They were similar in length (in the original writings), comprehensiveness and vividness of description, the extent that the materials were utilized, and the accuracy at which feelings of the historical figures were identified.

In short, the results reveal little difference between the multiple source documents and textbook materials groups in the three aspects of historical empathy.

### 4.5 Results of Hypothesis Two

Four independent samples *t* tests were applied to the historical empathy scores (i.e., on the scores of the three criteria respectively, and on the combined score) to examine if there is any significant difference in the historical empathy between the groups encountering Chang Hsueh-liang (a modern historical figure) and Shang Yang (an ancient historical figure) respectively, both using multiple source documents. No significant difference was found in all the four *t* tests (see Table 9).

Table 9 Summary of *t* tests results on students’ historical empathy scores between Chang’s case and Shang’s case in the multiple source documents group

Historical empathy scores	MS group	TB group	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
	Means and standard deviations			
Scores in the historical context	1.13 (0.47) <sup>a</sup>	1.08 (0.68) <sup>b</sup>	0.37	0.71
Scores in the motivational aspect	1.37 (0.63) <sup>a</sup>	1.14 (0.63) <sup>b</sup>	1.60	0.11
Scores in the affective aspect	1.08 (0.67) <sup>a</sup>	0.84 (0.65) <sup>b</sup>	1.58	0.12
Combined scores of historical empathy	3.58 (1.48) <sup>a</sup>	3.05 (1.67) <sup>b</sup>	1.44	0.15

Note. a: N=38  
b: N=37

No obvious qualitative difference (e.g., the length and the comprehensiveness of the memoirs, the use of materials provided) was observed in Chang’s and Shang’s case in the aspect of historical context and motivational aspect within the group using

multiple source documents. Concerning the affective aspect, the students' performances were slightly better in the case of Chang than in the case of Shang. Although both of the groups could name historically apt feelings of Chang and Shang, the choice of words students used in the Chang case was of a greater variety.

In describing Chang's feeling to Japanese invasion, students who got 2 points in the multiple source documents group were able to use words like "angry" and expressions like "could not bear to see Chinese people tortured by the Japanese army", "hated the Japanese bitterly", "came to the end of his patience". In describing Chang's feeling during the decision making process, students tended to use the following expressions: "did not feel regret for starting the mutiny", "felt contradictory in deciding whether to start the mutiny or not", "felt difficult", "felt perplexed", "felt uneasy", "felt just like a rebel", "I decided to start the mutiny was not for my own interest, but from my heart of patriotism. I was loyal to my country."

On the other hand, students from the Shang group mostly used adjectives and phrases such as, "felt frustrated", "felt uncomfortable". "felt depressed", "regretful" and "misery".

Further analyses were made to examine if there would be any significant difference on historical empathy upon an ancient historical figure and a modern historical figure, under the condition that only textbook materials were provided. Four independent samples *t* tests were applied on the scores of historical empathy (including the scores of the three criteria and the combined score). Significant difference was found in the affective aspect of historical empathy ( $t(73) = -2.66$ ,  $p=0.01$ ) (See Table 10). In this aspect, the historical empathy score of the group writing memoirs on Shang Yang is significantly lower.



Table 10 Summary of *t* tests results on students’ historical empathy scores between Chang’s case and Shang’s case in the textbook materials group

Historical empathy scores	MS group	TB group	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
	Means and standard deviations			
Scores in the historical context	1.16 (0.50) <sup>b</sup>	1.21 (0.47) <sup>a</sup>	0.43	0.67
Scores in the motivational aspect	1.38 (0.54) <sup>b</sup>	1.21 (0.47) <sup>a</sup>	-1.42	0.16
Scores in the affective aspect	1.08 (0.55) <sup>b</sup>	0.76 (0.49) <sup>a</sup>	-2.66	0.01*
Combined scores of historical empathy	3.62 (1.16) <sup>b</sup>	3.18 (1.06) <sup>a</sup>	-1.70	0.09

Note. a: N=38

b: N=37

\**p*=0.01

#### 4.6 Interview results

A follow-up interview was carried out after a preliminary examination of the written memoirs. The interviews were divided into two parts and served the following purposes. The first part of the interview was concerned with the thought processes required to construct a sense of historical context. The second part of the interview aimed at finding out whether reading habit serves as a factor that contributes to the performance of historical empathy.

The criteria for choosing the interviewees for the follow-up interview were stated in the method section. The following Table 11 shows the score distribution of the interviewees in the different aspects of historical empathy.

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Table 11: Historical empathy scores of the interviewees (N=8)

Chang Hsueh-liang							Shang Yang						
MS group			TB group				MS group			TB group			
I	II	III	I	II	III		I	II	III	I	II	III	
S1	2	2	2	1	1	1	S9	1	2	2	1	2	2
S11	1	2	1	1	2	1	S31	2	1	2	2	2	1
S13	1	2	1	2	2	2	S37	2	1	2	1	2	2
S36	1	1	1	1	1	1	S38	2	2	2	1	2	1
<i>Note.</i>													
MS group:			Group of students using multiple source documents (including textbook materials)										
TB group:			Group of students using textbook materials										
I:			Aspect of historical context										
II:			Motivational aspect										
III:			Affective aspect										

The interviewees wrote relatively good memoirs. They got medium or high scores in all criteria of historical empathy for both historical figures. The eight students were asked to respond to the questions designed by VanSledright (2001). The eight questions were concerned with the thought processes required to construct a sense of historical context. The interviewer asked the questions in the following order listed below. The interviewer explained and clarified the questions in case the students did not understand. Follow-up questions were asked to clarify the students’ responses. The interview results were summarized as follows.

Interview results of the questions designed by VanSledright, (2001)

(1) “How does the evidence permit this or that judgment of a historical agent’s actions?”

The students stated that the evidence helped them to know the inner self of the historical figures. For example, they were able to understand the motivation of Shang Yang’s reform from different aspects. The evidences enabled them to reconstruct the historical context. Since the multiple source documents were of wide ranges, students

could reconstruct the motivation of the historical figure according to the materials provided from different point of views.

According to the students, the difference between multiple source documents and textbook materials was that, textbook materials offered single point of view while multiple source documents offered different point of views. The students could know more about the historical background of Shang Yang and Chang Hsueh-liang by reading the multiple source documents. They could make a decision after analyzing the multiple source documents.

In addition, some of the students said that with the aid of guided questions, they could project their ideas and feelings into the role of Chang and Shang within the specific historical context. Appropriate decision in the role of Shang and Chang could be made. Besides, some of the students addressed the importance of teacher's explanation during the writing process. These students' feedbacks could provide food for thought in the cultivation of historical empathy.

(2) "What other ways can these actions be understood given the evidence available?"

From students' responses, it was observed that they did not understand this question, even when follow-up questions were asked. This question may be too difficult for Form three students.

Nonetheless, the students explained how they dealt with the evidences. From the perspective of understanding their thought processes, these answers are perhaps worth reporting.

Students stated that the evidences enabled them to understand the motivation of Shang's or Chang's action. The students said that if there were insufficient evidences, their understanding to the historical figures would be piecemeal. Their point of views might be biased. One of the students (S1) claimed that he had compared the multiple



source documents provided, so as to know what the historical figure thought at that time. For example, he projected himself into the historical situation that Chang faced and pretended that he were talking with other historical figures, such as Mao and Chiang, trying to find resolution. The multiple source documents provided him with the point of views of different parties in specific historical situation. After analyzing the documents, he would make the most appropriate decision based on the historical facts.

- (3) “How can the evidence be assembled in different configurations to help me maximize the sense I can make of the larger context of the period in question?”

Only one of the students (S13) being interviewed responded to this question. He said that historical knowledge learnt in the lessons of Chinese History acted as the main body of the memoir he wrote. The multiple source documents could serve the assistant purpose. The student said that he could make use of the specific terms in the multiple source documents in writing the memoirs. The other students found this question too difficult.

- (4) “What might be the various attributes of that historical context given the evidence at hand?”

Students could name the various attributes of the historical context given the evidence at hand. One of the students (S9) said that in Shang Yang’s case, the interests of the nobility were the most significant attribute. In Chang’s case, different interests of Chiang, Yang and Chang constituted the most important attribute. Another student (S38) got a different opinion, saying that in Shang’s case, the unification of China was crucial. In Chang’s case, the struggle between the “big self” and the “small self” was crucial. The big self was the honor and dishonor of the Chinese nationality. The small

self was the interests of Chang himself. From the interview results, it seemed that this selected group of students could fully understand the multiple source documents. They could find out the various attributes of the historical context given the evidence at hand.

(5) “What types of thinking must I do in order to build an understanding of this context?”

Students’ responses to the above question showed that they had some understanding about historical empathy. Most of the students’ responses were imagination. They stated that in order to build an understanding of the context, they had to imagine what had happened during that specific time. With imagination, they could fill the gap between different sources of documents. Other students stated that they should have logical thinking. Logical thinking helped them to reconstruct the whole picture of the historical event with the aid of the documents provided. One of them (S31) stated that he should have the ability to make good judgment, as he had to judge what kind of materials he should use and what he should write.

In response to this question, the students also said that they need to have good language abilities since the multiple source documents comprised of primary documents that were not as simple as textbook materials. Besides, they also added that teacher’s instruction was also significant. The students said that they could not write the memoirs without teacher’s explanations. These include explanations on the guided question and the multiple source documents at the beginning of the instruction, as well as explanations in response to their queries during the process of writing.

(6) “How aware am I and must I be of the assumptions that I am making?”

High reflective ability is required to answer this question. It was found that the



students could not understand this question. The answers they tried to offer were irrelevant to the question. It may be too difficult for Form three students to answer this kind of question.

- (7) “How do my assumptions influence the way I interpret the evidence and attempt to contextualize events and actions?”

Students stated that their assumptions did influence the way they interpreted the evidence and attempted to contextualize events and actions. One of the students (S9) explained that he had assumed Shang Yang’s reform as something for the good of Qin Dynasty. He then focused on the advantages of the reform towards Qin. In the case of Chang, he assumed that Chang was in a dilemma, facing the pressure from both Chiang and the Communist Party. He said that sometimes conflicts existed. He would pick up evidences from the documents provided so as to justify what he believed to be Chang’s view at that time. He would try to put himself into the role of Chang and Shang.

- (8) “What would it take to see things from (a) different angle(s)?”

Students showed some understandings about historical empathy in answering this question. They pointed out that putting oneself into other’s position was important in developing historical empathy. A person, who is able to put himself into other’s position, would see things not from his subjective point of view. He would be able to see things from the viewpoints of different historical figures.

Besides, students stated that multiple source documents were significant in enabling them to seeing things from different angles. As one could not experience the past event again, one could only simulate the situation with the help of multiple source documents. According to the students, multiple source documents provided

them with different points of view so that they could view the historical event from different angles. Multiple source documents also enabled them to know the beginning and subsequent development of the historical event, which would make seeing things from different angles possible.

Moreover, one of the students (S1) said that for the interest of the whole, he would consider the feelings of different people. Another student (S13) said that he understood everyone had his own reason. He would look from the whole picture and neglect those unimportant things.

#### Interview results of students' reading habits

Students' reading habit is regarded as a possible factor that contributes to the performance of historical empathy. Apart from the questions designed by VanSledright (2001), the interviewees were also asked about their reading habits. In the follow-up interview, we found that seven out of eight interviewees like to read history books in their everyday life. The following report the unique reading habits of four students among the interviewees.

S13 reads history books at leisure. He is interested in ancient Chinese history as he was not familiar with it. He would imagine why the people in ancient times could do a certain thing, such as hourglass and printing. He concerned about the development and the influences of the inventions. S13 got high rating in historical empathy even he got textbook materials only in the Shang Yang's case.

S31 especially likes to read books about the Three Kingdoms (三國時代). He got high scores in Chang's case even he only got textbook materials. The historical background of the Three Kingdoms bears some similarities to the Sian Incident. Events in the Three Kingdoms and the Sian Incident are both histories of wars. S31's experience with history books about the Three Kingdoms might have enabled him to



develop historical empathy in Chang's case even he got textbook materials only.

S36 said that he likes to read ancient European history, especially history of war. He also read ancient Chinese history, especially the Warring States history. S36 got lower scores in Chang's case even he got multiple source documents. He got higher scores in Shang's case even he got textbook materials only.

S9 who likes to read history books, especially on the history of modern China, got two points in the categories of motivational aspect and affective aspect in Chang's memoir even he only got textbook materials.

All our eight interviewees are relatively well performed in writing the memoirs. The fact that seven out of eight like to read history books in their everyday life calls for our attention. Further, the unique reading habits and the historical empathy scores of the four cases described above are thought provoking. The results converge to hint that students' reading habits might have served as a contributing factor for their performance of historical empathy.

## Chapter 5     Discussion

The discussion is comprised of four sessions. The first section discusses the general findings of the present research. The second section focuses on explaining the results of the first hypothesis. The complexity involved in the role of multiple source documents and textbook materials in eliciting historical empathy would be highlighted. The third section discusses the results of the second hypothesis that dealt with the students' performances in encountering with the modern and the ancient historical figures. Attention will be drawn to the implication of the findings. The final section analyzes the results of the follow-up interviews.

### 5.1 Discussion of the general findings

“Historical empathy” is regarded as essential in history teaching and learning. It is the state of “coming into contact with” the historical context, the cognitive state and the affective state of the historical figure. The way to this cognitive and affective state is to interpret the historical evidence by “rethinking” the thoughts of people in the past within specific historical context. “Historical empathy” enables better historical understanding, which is significant in the teaching and learning of history. Based on literature review, three aspects of historical empathy were examined in the present study: historical context, motivational aspect and affective aspect. The students were given either multiple source documents (including textbook materials) or just textbook materials so as to write memoirs in the role of Chang Hsueh-liang and Shang Yang. The memoirs were rated according to the scoring scheme of different aspects of historical empathy.

From the results of the present study, it was observed that most of the students obtained a medium score for each aspect of historical empathy (i.e., “1”) in both groups using multiple source documents and textbook materials in Chang’s and



Shang's cases. The medium score indicated that in the aspect of historical context, the students showed the capability of a partial analysis and evaluation of factually correct historical evidences/facts. In the motivational aspect, they showed partial understanding of the motives and decision making of Chang Hsueh-liang and Shang Yang but attributions of a certain motive might be made from a present-day viewpoint. In the affective aspect, the students could name the feelings of Chang and Shang, but a certain feeling might be named from the perspective of the student himself, rather than from that of Chang and Shang. The sources of such feelings were not made clear.

The present average performance might be related to the single learning experience of the students. It may be difficult for the students to cultivate historical empathy through a single learning experience. In the present study, the students were given the materials (according to their grouping) one week before the implementation of the research. They were asked to read all the materials. When the research was carried out, the students were provided with guided questions and brief instructions. They had to write the memoirs within 70 minutes in the class. Even though the research design is adequate, the exposure of the students to multiple source materials and guided questions was limited in a single learning experience. For the cultivation of high quality historical empathy, multiple learning experiences may be necessary.

It was further observed that the mean scores of the motivational aspect were higher than those of the other two aspects of historical empathy in all cases, disregarding the materials they were provided with and the historical figures they were encountering. It seemed that it was easier for the students to achieve better performance in the motivational aspect of historical empathy. The possible explanation is that the provided materials and the guided questions have worked more effectively in helping the students to understand and to express the motives and the decision making process of the historical figures.

Comparing the mean scores of the three aspects of historical empathy, it was also observed that the mean scores of the affective aspect were the lowest in both groups using multiple source documents and textbook materials in Chang's and Shang's case. It seemed that the affective aspect of historical empathy was most difficult to achieve in the present sample. It is possible that the rational presentation of multiple source documents and guided questions was not very effective in eliciting feelings and in facilitating their expression. Moreover, the present results may have been affected by the gender and age of the participants. It should be noted that all participants of the present study came from two Form 3 classes in a local boy's secondary school. It may be difficult for the 14 years old boys to understand and express the affective aspect of a historical figure even with the provision of multiple source documents and guided questions. We should further consider the following questions: Would adolescents and adults in their senior years empathize better with a historical figure in the affective aspect? Would girls empathize better with a historical figure in the affective aspect as compared to boys? Further studies will be needed with a view to answering the above questions.

The correlation analysis revealed that the scores of the three aspects of historical empathy were significantly related in Chang's case, including both the multiple source documents group and the textbook materials group. In Shang's case, only the scores of the historical context and of motivational aspects were significantly correlated. Such a result can be attributed to the low mean scores of the affective aspect in both groups encountering this ancient historical figure. It showed that the cognitive aspect of historical empathy, including the understanding of the historical context and of the historical agent's motive, might not necessarily be conducive to affective empathetic responses.

As affective aspect is regarded as one of the necessary components of



historical empathy, the relatively poor performance of the students in this aspect calls for teachers' attention in the provision of learning experiences in cultivating historical empathy. With the aim in enhancing the quality of affective responses towards a historical figure, other methods apart from the exposure to texts and questions should be considered. These new methods may include the exposure to audio-visual aids of historical materials, and the involvement into simulation games.

## 5.2 Discussion of Hypothesis One

It is hypothesized that there would be significant difference between students who use multiple source documents and those who are provided with materials from textbooks only. Nonetheless, the mean scores did not reveal any advantage of multiple source documents in enhancing historical empathy. Specifically, the mean scores in Chang's and Shang's case were slightly higher in the textbook materials group, except in the affective aspect of Shang's case. The results revealed that there was no advantage of multiple source documents in enhancing historical empathy of the students. We consider that the following explanations could be possible.

The first possible explanation was that students in the textbook materials group made fuller use of the materials provided while the students in the multiple source documents group were unable to make good use of the materials provided. The memoirs revealed that the students of textbook materials group were able to reorganize the textbook materials according to the guided questions provided. They were able to show partial understanding of the motives and decision making of the historical figure based on factually correct historical evidences.

Secondly, the multiple source documents provided in the present study might not be rich enough to produce a high level of historical empathy.

Thirdly, the multiple source documents might be too difficult for the students to comprehend. Generally speaking, multiple source documents are more complicated and in-depth than textbook materials. Besides, the style of writing in multiple source documents was relatively classical, particularly in the case of Shang Yang. Individual author of the primary documents used his/her own words at his/her time to write the documents. Even the documents were translated into vernacular style of writing, there were still some traces of literary language, which was unfamiliar to the students. Additionally, students' motivation of applying the multiple source documents may be



affected, as it was difficult for the students to understand these documents. It should be noted that few traces of multiple source documents could be seen in reconstructing the motives and decision making process of the historical figures in the group of multiple source documents that obtained medium score (i.e., “1”).

Fourthly, students’ language ability may affect the performance of historical empathy. For example, one’s language ability may affect his/her performance in the category of affective aspect, as he/she had to name apt feelings of the historical figure. In order to name the apt feelings of Chang or Shang, students had to fully understand the materials given to them and use appropriate vocabularies to name the feelings of Chang and Shang. If the students’ language ability was weak, it would be difficult for them to understand fully the meaning of multiple source documents. Moreover, they could not adequately express their thoughts in words if their language ability is weak.

On the contrary, the factor of language appeared not to be so significant to the students in the textbook materials group. As mentioned above, textbooks were specially designed and written for the secondary school students. The diction suited the level of them. It would be easier for the students to understand what the textbook means. As a result, the difference in historical empathy between multiple source documents group and textbook group was not evident.

In retrospect, our original opinion about textbooks may not be warranted. As many textbook materials provide only a small amount of materials, we presume that they would limit students’ abilities to draw upon a rich variety of evidences to analyze the historical context, to use hindsight to explore the complex circumstances leading to and the consequences of the decisions of a historical figure, or to explore the beliefs, values and feelings of the historical figures. However, the present study shows that good textbooks could have merits. Textbooks present many facts in a relatively systematic and comprehensive way, though not in an elaborated form. They may be



easy for students to understand.

A closer examination into the standard deviation and the frequency distribution of the historical empathy scores further revealed the complexity involved in the use of multiple source documents and textbook materials. As summarized in Table 5, the standard deviation of the historical empathy scores in the multiple source documents group is higher than that of the textbook materials group except one case (i.e., the score of historical context in Chang's case). A careful reading of figures 1.1-1.6 and Table 6 would further help us to refine our interpretation of the data. These figures together with Table 6 show that a higher percentage of students in the textbook materials group got one point whereas a higher percentage of students in the multiple source documents group got two points as well as zero point in the different criteria of historical empathy. This consistent pattern of frequency distribution in all cases is revealing. It reminds us that we should not oversimplify the issue about the advantage of multiple source documents or textbook materials. On one hand, it seemed that a certain group of students would benefit more from the use of multiple source materials in the performance of historical empathy. On the other hand, the elicitation of historical empathy might be hampered by the encounter with multiple source materials for another group of students. All in all, we need to be cautious about the above interpretation due to the small size of our sample in the present study.

Apart from the role of multiple source documents and textbook materials, other factors might have contributed to the performance of historical empathy. Two cases are worth discussing in revealing the possible role of imagination and prior knowledge in eliciting historical empathy.

One of the students (S12) in the textbook materials group of Chang's case utilized the textbook materials together with his imagination so as to construct the decision making process of Chang. His imagination was contextualized in space and



time. He wrote in the following way:

“At that time, I was the general of KMT. I had told Chiang about the importance of collaboration with the Communist Party to fight against the Japanese. However, he refused me. Then, I started the mutiny in the hope that KMT could collaborate with the Communist Party so as to fight against the Japanese invasion. During that time, popular pressure mounted feverishly demanding an end to the civil war and the turning of guns against the Japanese. In response to the public demand, I started the mutiny. But I was in great dilemma. I hesitated to fight against the Communist Party or the Japanese troops. If I continued to fight against the Communist Party, our country might be destroyed by the Japanese.” (see Appendix F [13] for the original Chinese excerpt).

S12 was able to point out the reason why Chang started the mutiny, he wrote in the following way:

“During that time, popular pressure mounted feverishly demanding an end to the civil war and the turning of guns against the Japanese. In response to the public demand, I started the mutiny.” The goal of Chang was shown clearly.

In the writing of S12, Chang’s dilemma and inner struggle were shown in the following excerpt:

“But I was in great dilemma. I was hesitated to fight against the Communist Party or the Japanese troops. If I continued to fight against the Communist Party, our country might be destroyed by the Japanese.” S12 was able to synthesize the textbook materials into his imagination in order to reconstruct the decision making process of Chang.

Based on the textbook materials, S12 used his own imagination to construct a situation in the role of Chang. For example, he wrote that “I had told Chiang about the importance of collaboration with the Communist Party to fight against the Japanese.”

S12 was able to construct a situation that he was talking to Chiang about the importance of collaboration with the Communist Party. Among all the students who got the highest score (i.e., “2”), only S12 could construct a dialogue between Chang and Chiang, which showed his own imagination. He wrote in the following way: “I had told Chiang about the importance of collaboration with the Communist Party to fight against the Japanese. However, he refused me.” Other students who got the same score in the textbook materials group were able to use the “I” sentence in writing the memoir, which indicated that they were able to take the role of Chang. However, they were unable to construct a dialogue within specific historical context like what S12 did.

S12 also wrote in the following way: “In response to the public demand, I started the mutiny.” S12 reconstructed the public situation during the 1930’s so as to justify his determination to start the mutiny. All these revealed that on the basis of textbook materials and his own imagination, S12 reconstructed the situation Chang faced in 1936. Chang’s decision making process was reflected in the memoir that S12 wrote.

The quality of S12’s memoir is similar to the memoirs of the multiple source documents group in the case of Chang even he got textbook materials only. This indicated that the student’s ability of imagination may help to develop historical empathy even they were provided with textbook materials only.

Another student (S21) from the group of multiple source documents who got the highest score (i.e., “2”) in the historical context was able to synthesize his own knowledge about the historical context of Shang Yang’s reform with the multiple source documents provided. He wrote in the following way:

“When Emperor Qin published official statement to call for men of great talent, I decided to go there. Firstly, the Emperor had the determination to turn Qin to the most powerful state among the seven Warring States. Secondly, the other Warring States



had not accepted my proposal. Thirdly, though I was a foreigner, Emperor Qin still treated me as an honored guest. Fourthly, I thought that since Qin was at the western side, she seldom fought against with the other Warring States. She had the potential to become the most powerful state.” (see Appendix F [24] for the original Chinese excerpts).

The documents provided were not mere source of the above listed reasons. Except the first reason, the other three reasons came from S21’s own prior knowledge which was historically correct. With his background knowledge, S21 inferred from the documents provided to reconstruct the historical context of Shang Yang’s reform.

From the above two cases, there are two points worth mentioning. First, it was observed that the ability of imagination enables the eliciting of better historical empathy. As mentioned in Chapter 2 (p. 17), historical imagination is important to the development of historical empathy. It can be observed in the memoirs written by S12 that the ability of imagination to a certain extent enables better performance in historical empathy even the student was provided with textbook materials only.

Secondly, the memoir of S21 indicated that the quality of historical empathy was enhanced by his prior knowledge in the case that he was provided with multiple source documents. It can be observed that the student used not only the multiple source documents to write the memoir, but also his own prior historical knowledge. However, we should be cautious to interpret these findings concerning the role of imagination and prior knowledge as the number of cases was limited.

As the first hypothesis was not supported, it revealed that the multiple source documents did not have any obvious advantage in enabling better performance of historical empathy as a whole. On one hand, we need to reconsider the role of good textbook materials. On the other hand, we should also note the implications about the greater individual differences in using multiple source documents. Furthermore, the

role of imagination and prior knowledge in the elicitation of historical empathy should be examined in future studies.

### 5.3 Discussion of Hypothesis Two

In Hypothesis Two, it is expected that there would be no significant difference in students' historical empathy upon an ancient historical figure and a modern historical figure, given that multiple source documents and appropriate "guided questions" are provided. Such an expectation was confirmed with the results of the independent samples *t* tests (refer to Chapter 4, pp.75-77). Nonetheless, we need to be cautious on the interpretation due to the limitations of the present sample. Furthermore, we should note that most of the mean scores regarding the different criteria of historical empathy are slightly higher in Chang's case as compared to those in Shang's case (see Table 5 on p. 67 for details), even though the difference has not reached a significant level. We should also note the *t* test results of the further analyses in the textbook materials group. Significant difference between the memoir writings on Chang and Shang was only found in the affective aspect of the historical empathy scores. No significant difference was found in the scores of the historical context of and the motivational aspect.

A closer examination into the writing of the memoirs also revealed no marked qualitative difference in the historical empathy of the modern historical figure vs. that of the ancient historical figure.

These results call for a re-examination of a general belief concerning the Chinese History education in Hong Kong. The Curriculum Development Council encourages teachers "to teach modern Chinese history in detail while the ancient Chinese history should be taught in brief" (1997). It is held that students can 'understand' modern Chinese history easier since the political, economic and social context of modern



Chinese history resembles the living context of the students nowadays. In this line of thought, ancient Chinese history is regarded as remote from the secondary school students, and difficult for them to understand.

The present results revealed no significant difference in students' performance on historical empathy between the modern (i.e., Chang Hsueh-liang) and the ancient historical figure (i.e., Shang Yang) except in the case of affective aspect within the textbook materials group. This showed that the sense of remoteness about ancient history could be overcome at least to a certain extent with the availability of historical evidences and stimulations for the act of empathizing. Viewing from this angle, ancient history should be taught with details rather than in brief, if the learning experience is intended to be meaningful.

Worth discussing is the fact that the mean score in the affective aspect of historical empathy upon Shang's case within the textbook materials group were the lowest, bearing in mind that the mean scores in the affective aspect of historical empathy were generally low. Only one student in the textbook materials group got the highest scores (i.e., "2") in the affective aspect of historical empathy while writing the memoir on Shang Yang. Independent samples *t* test revealed a significant difference in the affective aspect of historical empathy in encountering a modern historical figure (i.e., Chang) and an ancient historical figure (i.e., Shang) under the condition that only textbook materials were provided (refer to Chapter 4, p. 77). It seems that textbook materials are in the most disadvantageous position in eliciting the affective understanding towards an ancient historical figure. In the teaching of ancient history, the provision of multiple source documents and other innovation methods appears as particularly necessary, if it is our purpose to cultivate the affective aspect of historical empathy.

In our research question related to hypothesis two, we are concerned if there is

any difference in historical empathy when one encounters an ancient historical figure and a modern historical figure. The difference in the correlational patterns of the three aspects of historical empathy with respect to Chang's case and Shang's case is noteworthy. All aspects of historical empathy in Chang's case were significantly correlated in both the multiple source documents group and textbook materials group. Such a result echo the conceptualization that the three aspects of historical empathy (i.e., aspect of historical context, the motivational aspect, and the affective aspect) should be substantially related. Nonetheless, the correlational pattern in Shang's case is different. It should be noted that the score in the affective aspect was not correlated with the score of any other aspect. Only the score in the historical context were significantly correlated with the score in the motivational aspect. This result is probably explainable by the low mean scores of the affective aspect in both the multiple source documents group and the textbook materials group. In Shang's case, we observed that a satisfactory performance in the cognitive aspects of historical empathy might not be conducive to satisfactory empathetic responses in the affective aspect. Such a valuable observation is worthy of our further investigation.

Last but not least, it should be noted that the examination of the second hypothesis in the present study is based on a single case of comparison only. The present study aims at finding whether there is any significant difference in the performance of historical empathy between a modern historical figure and an ancient historical figure. Nonetheless, the results came from a single case (i.e., comparing and contrasting Chang Hsueh-liang and Shang Yang). We should be cautious in interpreting the results as each historical figure might carry his/her own uniqueness. The present results might have revealed the difference between Chang and Shang in eliciting historical empathy, but not the difference between history of modern era and history of ancient times. Herein lies the limitation of the present small-scale empirical study.



## 5.4 The follow-up interview

Eight students were selected for the follow-up interview. These students performed relatively well in the writing of the memoirs. They got medium or high scores in all criteria of historical empathy regarding both historical figures. From the interview results, the selected students' thought process required to construct a sense of historical context was analyzed as follows.

First, most of the students stated that, historical evidences provided them with different points of view, and enabled them to reconstruct historical context of specific historical events. This matches what we stated in Chapter 2 (refer to pp.26-28) that, historical empathy cannot be achieved without historical evidences.

Second, one of the interviewees stated that other than multiple source documents, the knowledge they learnt from previous lessons were also significant to the thought process. This may be one of the possible reasons that students performed quite well even they got textbook materials only.

Third, the students' opinions matched with what had been discussed in the previous chapters about the characteristics of historical empathy. The students stated that the thought process required to construct a sense of historical context included imagination, logical thinking, the ability to judge, and putting oneself into other's position. From students' responses, it was reflected that their ideas shared similarity with the view of the scholars and researchers on "what is historical empathy" mentioned in the previous chapter of literature review, though in a much cruder form.

The interviewees' responses reflected that they had a certain degree of understanding about the thought process required to construct a sense of historical context during the study.

Fourth, some of the students stated that their assumptions did influence the way they interpreted the evidence and attempted to contextualize events and actions. This

showed that students understood the limitation of historical empathy. Students could not give up all his assumptions in constructing the sense of historical context. As stated by VanSledright (2001), “[historical empathy] arose from a transaction between the inquirer and the historical artifact. The transaction was tempered continually by the inquirer’s positionality (which turned on a set of tacit assumptions) as it intersected with that of the producer of the artifact.” (VanSledright, 2001, p. 64). Students who clearly understood their own assumptions would affect the development of historical empathy. This kind of understanding could be regarded as metacognition.

Fifth, besides the thought process mentioned above, students also stated that language ability and teachers’ instructions were significant to their writing of the memoirs. They stated that language ability was important in understanding historical evidences and reconstructing the historical context. These feedbacks revealed to us what might be important in facilitating history empathy, and are helpful in interpreting the results of the present study.

Finally, it seemed that past reading experiences may affect students’ performance in empathizing with a specific historical figure. Students who like to read history books may get high scores in historical empathy even they get textbook materials only. Though the number of interviewed students was small, it seemed that reading habits of history books could play a positive role in the performance of historical empathy. This is an issue worth exploring for researchers as well as history teachers.



## Chapter 6 Conclusion

In response to the academic discourse on historical empathy and the practice in the local community, the present study aims at answering the following two questions. First, would the local students empathize with a historical figure better when they are given multiple source documents rather than textbook materials? Second, would there be any significant difference between local students' historical empathy towards a historical figure of ancient period and a historical figure of modern era in the case that they are given multiple source documents?

Two hypotheses were proposed. Firstly, it is hypothesized that there would be significant difference in the historical empathy scores between students who use multiple source documents and those who receive materials from textbooks only. Specifically, it is hypothesized that students who are provided with multiple source documents would have higher scores in historical empathy than those who have materials from textbooks only.

Secondly, it is hypothesized that there would be no significant difference in the historical empathy scores of the students in learning ancient Chinese history and modern Chinese history, given that multiple source documents and appropriate “guided questions” are provided.

The expectation of the first hypothesis was not supported. There was no significant difference of the historical empathy scores between students who used multiple source documents and those who have materials from textbooks only.

Concerning hypothesis two, no significant difference in the historical empathy scores was found between the memoir writings on the ancient and the modern historical figures, given that multiple source documents and appropriate “guided questions” were provided. It should be noted that the mean scores were slightly higher in the case of Chang Hsueh-liang (a modern historical figure) than in the case of

Shang Yang (an ancient historical figure). Noteworthy is also the following fact: There is no significant difference in the historical empathy scores between the memoir writings on Chang and Shang within the textbook materials group, with the case of “affective aspect” as an exception.

In comparison with textbook materials, it seemed that multiple source documents were unable to develop better historical empathy. Even with multiple source documents, students’ performances were similar, or even slightly lower than the other group who used textbook materials.

One possible explanation is that the multiple source documents that we provided in the present study were not rich enough to facilitate a high performance of historical empathy.

Another possible explanation is that student’s language ability did hinder their development of historical empathy. Students (N=8) who joined the follow-up interview stated that multiple source documents had played an important role in their writing of the memoirs, it is possible that language ability had hindered the development of historical empathy among the majority of our participants. The two raters also pointed out that the language ability of the students was really weak. Students’ deficiency in language ability might have hindered them from understanding the multiple source documents, especially the primary documents, and from expressing their thoughts and feelings in the role of a specific historical figure literally.

Besides, the role of reading habits in the development of historical empathy is worth considering. Although a limited number of students were being interviewed, it was found that students who had reading habits of history books appeared to get higher scores even they were provided with textbook materials only. As history books can also be regarded as a kind of multiple source documents, the students got extra



historical knowledge from the books they read, and had chances to cultivate historical empathy during the process of their extensive reading. Therefore, it is worthwhile to encourage students to develop the habits of reading history books which would cultivate better historical empathy.

From the research findings, it seemed that good textbook materials could also generate a high or fair performance of historical empathy in a certain group of student. High standard textbooks can be systematic and comprehensive. The textbook authors have used primary, secondary and intermediate documents to write their books. They synthesized the materials with their own words and produced a set of materials that would be highly readable. In view of this, it is understandable that textbook materials can play a part to elicit historical empathy. In discussing the role of multiple source documents and textbooks in history education, much emphasis has been laid on the value of multiple source documents. Results of the present study revealed that good textbooks materials might also have a role to play. In this connection it should be noted that the use of textbooks might be most disadvantageous in eliciting the affective aspect of historical empathy in the study of ancient history, as revealed from the results of the present study.

The present research was exploratory in nature. There were limitations in the research design and the materials chosen. Firstly, the sample size of the present study was small. Only 75 students joined the study. Furthermore, the participants were limited to boys from a secondary school of a specific banding (i.e. band two). It is clear that results of the present study cannot be generalized to the local student population.

Secondly, students' language ability was not put into consideration carefully. The materials chosen might be too difficult for them to understand. The research results might be affected. Writing was chosen as the means for the students to express their

historical empathy towards Chang Hsueh-liang and Shang Yang. For students with low language ability, writing memoirs might not be the most appropriate means for them to express their historical empathy.

Thirdly, the materials chosen in the present study are limited to written documents. Further, the chosen historical figures are limited to the political arena. The nature of these materials might have affected students' performance on historical empathy. Such limitations are nonetheless related to the evidences available in ancient Chinese history.

For further studies, four suggestions were proposed. First, an empirical study with larger sample size is more desirable. Besides, the comparison of historical empathy among students of different gender, different age and different abilities would be worth pursuing.

The second suggestion is related to the use of materials. It is necessary to translate the primary documents into a more vernacular style of language that enables the students to understand more thoroughly. Historical figures with a great variety of historical evidences available should be chosen. In this way, students who are weak in language ability might also develop historical empathy by getting access to different kinds of historical evidences. Further, the selection of the multiple source documents should be reviewed by experts to ascertain the appropriateness of the selection for the target group.

Third, alternative ways other than writing memoirs should be sought so that students can better express their ideas and feelings. For instance, interview seems to be an appropriate method. Instead of writing memoirs, students can express their thoughts and feelings in the role of specific historical figure during the process of an individual interview. It might be easier for the students to express their thoughts and feelings orally.



Finally, the role of teacher's instruction in enhancing historical empathy can be a focus of further empirical studies. In the follow-up interviews, the students revealed that the instructions of the teacher are important in helping them to write the memoirs. These instructions range from explanations on the sources, through elaborations on the guided questions, to the responses to students' queries.

There are two major implications of the present study. As the first hypothesis is not supported, we need to re-examine the role of multiple source materials and textbook materials in the development of historical empathy. We may ask more refined questions like: What kinds of multiple source materials are beneficial for which groups of students in their history learning? What kinds of textbook materials are beneficial for which groups of students in their history learning?

Secondly, the findings in relation to hypothesis two calls for a review of the guideline of the Curriculum Development Council. As mentioned in the introductory chapter, the Curriculum Development Council encourages teachers "to teach modern Chinese history in detail while the ancient Chinese history should be taught in brief" (詳近略遠) (Curriculum guide of Form 1 to Form 3 Chinese History, 1997, p. 3). However, the present study found that students could empathize with the historical figure of ancient history equally well as that in the modern era, given that they were provided with sufficient historical materials, appropriate instructions and guided questions. Understandably, we should be cautious in interpreting our results due to the limitations of the present study.

The teaching and learning of historical empathy has been neglected in Hong Kong's Chinese History education for a long period of time. The present study makes a modest initial step to examine this phenomenon in relation to some of its preconditions.

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## Appendix A

### Multiple source documents for Case 1: Chang Hsueh-liang

資料一：朱文原編，〔1994〕：《西安事變史料第一冊—重要函電〔上〕》。台北：國史館印行。

【A】中共中央發表『關於召集全國抗日救國代表大會』通電〔民國二十五年二月二十一日〕

『……但救國大計，事不宜遲。因此，本政府今特主張立刻召集全國抗日救國代表大會，正式組織國防政府與抗日聯軍，開始實行抗日戰爭的具體步驟。……』『最後，本政府歡迎全國抗日救國代表大會在蘇維埃領土內開會，因為在蘇區內，日本帝國主義的勢力都已徹底肅清，蘇區是抗日的根據地，是民族解放與獨立的模範區。』

【B】周恩來致蔣委員長請改變政策共同抗日函〔民國二十五年九月二十二日〕

『先生須知，共產黨今日所求者，唯在停止內戰、建立抗日統一戰線與真正發動抗日戰爭。內戰果能停止，抗戰果能實行，抗日自由果能實現，則蘇維埃與紅軍誓將實踐其自己宣言，統一於全國抗日政府指揮之下，為驅逐日寇而奮鬥到底。……天下洵洵為先生一人，先生如決心變更自己政策，則蘇維埃與紅軍準備隨時派遣負責代表與先生協定抗日大計。』

【C】委員長復張學良囑其嚴飭所部言行電〔民國二十五年九月二十四日〕

蔣委員長電復告以：『不可與言而與之言者，以後請勿與之言，並囑其對所部嚴戒其慎行謹言，勿中奸計。』



【D】毛澤東、周恩來致張學良請停止進攻共軍函〔民國二十五年十月五日〕

漢卿先生〔張學良先生〕閣下：

中國共產黨建議全國各黨各派各界各軍的抗日民族統一戰線已經一年多了，雖已得到全國人民的贊助，但中國國民黨不但至今採取游移不決的態度，而且當日寇正在準備新的大舉進攻時，反令胡宗南軍深入陝甘配合先生所指揮的部隊擴大自相殘殺的內戰。我們正式宣言，為了迅速執行停止內戰一致抗日主張，只要國民黨軍隊不向紅軍進攻，不攔阻紅軍的抗日去路與不侵犯紅軍的抗日後方，我們首先實行停止向國民黨軍隊的攻擊，以此作為我們停戰抗日的堅決表示，靜待國民黨的覺悟，僅在國民黨軍隊向我們攻擊時我們才在自衛的方式上予以必要的還擊，這同樣是為著促進國民黨當局的覺悟。先生是西北各軍的領袖，且是內戰與抗戰歧途中的重要責任者，如能顧及中國民族歷史關頭的出路，即祈當機立斷，立即停止西北各軍向紅軍的進攻，並祈將敝方意見轉達蔣介石先生速即決策，互派正式代表談判停戰抗日的具體條件。

擬具國共兩黨抗日救國協定草案送呈卓覽，寇深禍急願 先生速起圖之。

毛澤東、周恩來〔十月五日〕

資料二：

朱文原編，〔1994〕：《西安事變史料第一冊—重要函電〔上〕》。台北：

國史館印行。

【E】〈西安事變的前因〉

西安事變發生原因：

西安事變發生原因，錯綜複雜。

在國際方面：日俄二國對我領土的侵略野心，實乃構成事變當時國際形勢的主軸。民國二十五年〔1936〕是日本侵華最積極的一年，日本外相廣田提出對華三原則，並進軍華北內蒙，積極向我軍挑釁，激起了國人普遍而高漲的抗日情緒。在國內方面：張學良是西安事變的發動者，吾人欲追索西安事變發生的因緣，首應探討張學良在事變當時的心路歷程。張氏自己坦承『作孽者，乃自良身』。張學良奉命督師勦共，卻對共產黨統戰策略缺乏了解，對共黨份子寄予無限同情，視勦共任務為『不心願的工作』，對蔣委員長『攘外必先安內』政策之深意無法理解。誠如張氏自言：西安事變，禍首為誰？禍首則為『我心』。張氏之『我心』何以能驅其貿然發動此一劇變？其答案乃在『我心』已為中共『抗日救國』的統戰口號所迷惑，墮其彀中而不自覺。民國二十五年十一月中旬後，另有三事刺激張學良，使張氏不惜鋌而走險。一為十一月中旬綏遠戰爭的爆發，立即升高東北軍抗日的情緒與要求；一為十一月二十三日上海救國會首腦人物沈鈞儒等七人被捕事件，張學良對中樞處置極表不滿。另一為十二月九日西安學生團體紀念一二九週年遊行遭軍警取締，張學良面謁蔣委員長，要求釋放被捕學生，雙方在言語上嚴重衝突。綜前述諸因，乃促使張學良罔顧國法綱紀，悍然進行武力劫持蔣委員長。



## Multiple source documents for Case 2: Shang Yang

資料一：

羅吉甫〔1999〕：〈徙木立信・商鞅變法革新〉，《戰國謀略縱橫》。台北：遠流出版事業股份有限公司。

【F】〈徙木立信・商鞅變法革新〉

「秦國第二十四任國君秦獻公，在位二十四年後過世，二十一歲的兒子嬴渠梁繼位，是為秦孝公。

秦孝公即位後，立誓求新求變，要把秦國打造為超級強國。

當時的秦國，黃河和崤山以東有六個強國〔齊、韓、趙、魏、燕、楚國〕，其中魏、楚和秦國接壤；淮河、泗水之間還有十幾個小國林立。

強敵環伺還不要緊，最令秦國在意的是，各國都視秦國為蠻夷之邦，中原各諸侯舉行國際會議，都沒有秦國的分。

種種歧視，讓秦孝公深感羞辱，決心整頓軍政，發憤圖強，使秦國成為名揚國際的強國。

秦孝公於是發出求賢令，盼望得到真正的人才。商鞅就在這種背景下，來到秦國。秦孝公很欣賞商鞅，決定採納商鞅的大變法。」

資料二：賀凌虛註譯〔1987〕：《商君書今註今譯》。台北：商務印書館股份有限公司，頁二至一七。

【G】〈更法第一〉：

秦孝公在策畫國家大計。公孫鞅、甘龍、杜摯三位大夫陪侍在旁，共同思考世事的變化，商討修正法律的根源，研求役使人民的方法。孝公說：「繼承先君做了國君而不忽略國家大事，是做國君應有的道理；施行法令務須表現人主的長處，是臣子應有的行為。現在我想修改法令來治理國家，變更體制來教化百姓，但恐怕天下會批評我。」公孫鞅說：「臣聽說：游移不定的行為是無法完成的，游移不決的事項是不會成功的。君上趕快下定變法的決心，一定不要顧慮天下人的批評。而且有超越常人的行為的人，必然被世人議論；有獨特見解的人，必定被一般人詆毀。．．．．．法，是用來惠愛人民的；禮是用來便利行事的。所以聖人假如可使國家富強，不遵行舊日的法度，假如能有利於人民，不依循舊日的禮制。」

孝公說：「好的！」

甘龍說：「不然。臣聽說過，聖人不違反民性而施行教化，明智的人不改變法度而治理國家。順著人民的本性而施行教化的，不必辛勞而事功就能完成；依據舊日法度而治理的，官吏嫻熟法度而人民也感到習慣。現在如變更法制，不依循秦國的舊法，改變禮制來教化人民，臣恐天下人會批評君上，希望君上仔細地加以考慮。」

公孫鞅說：「先生所說的，是世俗一般人的說法。平常人習慣於舊日的習俗，學者們沈溺於自己所學過的那一套；這兩種人都只能做官遵守法度，



不可以跟他們謀畫一般法度外的大事。．．．．．所以明智的人制定法度，而愚昧的人為法度所局限；賢能的人更改禮制，而一般人則為禮制所拘束。為禮制所拘束的人，不可以跟他議論大事；為法度所局限的人，不可以跟他討論變革。君上請不必再游移不決了。」

杜摯說：「臣聽說，利益不到一百倍，不改變法度，功效不到十倍，不改製器物。臣聽說師行古法的沒有過錯，遵循舊禮的不會有偏邪。希望君上好好計議一下。」

公孫鞅說：「．．．．．臣所以說：『治理天下不是只有一種方法，對國家有利即不必師法古代。』商湯、周武王統有天下，不全遵循古法而興起；商紂、夏桀的覆滅，不是因更改禮制而亡國。如此看來，與古代相反的不能說必然是錯的，遵循舊禮的也不是全都是對的。君上請不必再游移不決了。」

#### 【H】〈墾令第二〉：

「貴族卿士之家，所得俸祿厚，食邑稅收多，游惰坐食的子弟眾多，是會敗壞農事的，應依照游惰坐食的人數，計口收稅，並增加其勞役，則邪惡放蕩游嬉怠惰之人將無處可以得到食物。無處可以得到食物則必從事農耕，從事農耕則荒地必定開墾了。」

「掌管力政之官，命令卿大夫嫡長子以外諸子均須依世系次序而任徭役，並嚴格加以考核，及使他們有一定的職事及俸祿，不可以逃避徭役。而大官未必可得，則所有卿大夫嫡長子以外諸子，便不會游居事奉他人。所有卿大夫嫡長子以外諸子都不游居事奉別人，必然從事農耕，從事農耕則荒地必定開墾了。」

#### 【I】〈賞刑第十七〉：

「所謂壹賞，就是使利祿官爵專出於軍功，沒有任何其他途徑。因此無論智愚、貴賤、勇怯、賢不肖，皆盡其胸臆所知，竭其輔助之力，寧願犧牲而為君上所用。．．．．．所謂壹刑，就是使刑無等級之分，自卿相將軍以至士大夫庶人，凡不聽從王令，觸犯國家的禁令，違反君上的制度的，均處以死罪，絕不寬赦。從前有功，其後犯罪的，並不因而減刑。從前為善，其後犯法的，亦不因而廢法。忠臣孝子犯法，絕對依法之所定而斷其罪。執法任職的官吏，凡不遵行王法的，概處以死罪，絕不寬赦，且刑及其三族。」



## Appendix B

### Textbook materials for Case 1: Chang Hsueh-liang

【J】教科書參考資料〔一〕：譚松壽、徐民強、陳志華、黃家樑、羅國潤〔編著〕〔2000〕：《中國歷史》四下。香港，中國：現代教育研究社，頁一六四。

「公元一九三六年十二月初，蔣介石抵達西安督師。張學良向蔣介石陳述停止內戰、一致抗日的必要，遭嚴詞申飭。張學良和西北軍將領楊虎城密商『兵諫』。十二月十二日，張學良派兵圍攻蔣介石的駐所，槍殺侍衛，逮捕蔣介石。事變發生後，中國共產黨派周恩來見蔣介石。在各方斡旋下，事件終於和平解決。」

### 【K】教科書參考資料〔二〕：

鄭佩華、黎惠賢、吳美英〔編著〕〔1999〕：《中國歷史會考通識》上冊。香港，中國：艾迪生·維斯理·朗文出版社中國有限公司，頁一一零。

### 國共再度合作〔1936-37 年〕——西安事變

西安事變：1935 年 10 月，紅軍到達陝西北部。蔣介石把張學良的東北軍調到西北攻打共產黨。共產黨宣言「停止內戰，一致抗日」，張學良受其影響，在 1936 年 12 月發動「西安事變」。未幾，事變和平解決，奠定日後國共第二次合作的基礎。

#### 〔1〕 西安事變的背景

- a. 國人抗日浪潮高漲：九一八事變以來，全國人民同仇敵愾，展開抗日救亡運動。東北人民組成游擊隊；沒有撤走的東北軍組成義勇軍，展開抗日武裝鬥爭。後來，他們還組成統一的「東北抗日聯軍」，遍地燃起抗日烽火。上海等地紛紛成立「抗日聯合團體」，舉行反日示威遊行。抵制日貨，蔚為風氣。而北平的「一二九」學生運動，更掀起了全國抗日救亡運動新高潮。
- b. 中共發表八一宣言：共產黨極力主張對抗日本的侵略，驅逐日本侵略者。民國二十四年〔1935 年〕8 月 1 日，在長征路上發布了《為抗日救國告全國同胞書》，《八一宣言》，號召全國人民團結起來，停止內戰，一致抗日，在全國各階層引起強烈的反響。
- c. 國府堅持先安內方針：當時國民政府堅持「攘外必先安內」的方針，對日本的侵略節節妥協、退讓，對中共則加緊進行軍事圍攻。在紅軍到達陝北後，國民政府調派張學良的東北軍到陝西會同楊虎城的西北軍進攻陝北的紅軍，蔣介石親赴西安督戰。張、楊受到國人抗日熱情和中共宣傳的影響，不滿國民政府的方針，決定實行「兵諫」迫蔣聯共抗日，於是有「西安事變」的發生。



## 〔2〕 西安事變的經過

- a. 挾持蔣氏：1936年12月4日，蔣介石抵達西安催戰。12月7日，張學良向蔣陳述停止剿共，一致抗日的必要，被蔣嚴詞申斥。那天晚上，張學良、楊虎城密商「兵諫」。
- b. 共黨調停：事變發生後，中共接納蘇聯領袖史大林的意見，主張和平解決，並派周恩來往西安見蔣。12月25日，張學良陪蔣介石回南京，事件和平解決。
- c. 一致抗日：國軍停止剿共，中共轉危為安。國共醞釀合作，抗日民族統一戰線逐漸形成。

### 【L】教科書參考資料〔三〕：

香港人人書局編輯委員會〔編著〕〔2000〕：《新編中國歷史 第五冊 上》。香港人人書局有限公司，頁七七至七八。

#### 第四章〈北伐、內爭與外患〉

##### 西安事變始末

東北淪陷後，東北軍退入關內，國民政府委張學良往西安負責西北軍事，指揮東北軍聯同陝西楊虎城的西北軍和湯恩伯的中央軍，進攻陝北的紅軍，但屢遭挫敗，東北軍心懷怨望。中國共產黨乘機進行爭取工作，張學良、楊虎城接受了「停止內戰，一致抗日」的主張。

公元1936年〔民國二十五年〕11月，張學良稱所部不穩，請求軍事委員會委員長蔣中正前往會商。蔣中正抵西安後，張學良及楊虎城要求聯共抗日不果，便挾持蔣中正及國民政府要員十多人，旋即通電全國，提出八項要求，史稱「西安事變」。事變發生後，各方出面調停。經周恩來、張學良及蔣中正三人會談後，張學良釋放蔣中正，並隨蔣中正三人會談後，張學良釋放蔣中正，並隨蔣中正返南京接受軍事法庭審判，結果被判有罪，但獲特赦，自此一直被軟禁至八十年代。

##### 國共再度合作

「西安事變」後，國軍停止軍事行動，並同意中國共產黨停止內戰、在短期內完成一切抗日準備的建議。

公元1937年，七七事變爆發，中國對日全面抗戰開始；9月，中共中央「共赴國難宣言」公佈，紅軍改編為國民革命軍第八路軍，共同抗日。國共於是再度合作。

## Textbook materials for Case 2: Shang Yang

【M】教科書資料〔一〕：譚松壽、徐民強、陳志華、黃家樑、羅國潤〔編著〕〔2000〕：《中國歷史》四下。香港，中國：現代教育研究社，頁二五。

春秋時期，秦穆公得蹇叔和百里奚的幫助，國勢大盛，不過，穆公只能稱霸西戎，未能進一步向東發展。再者，與中原各國相比，秦在政治、經濟、文化等方面都落後得多，因此，秦常常遭到東方各國的歧視，不能參加各國的會盟。於是，戰國期間，秦孝公決心改革秦制，與東方各國爭雄。

### 商鞅變法

秦孝公任用商鞅，前後推行兩次徹底的變革，帶領秦國走上富強之路。其中對貴族影響最大的變法內容如下：

- 〔1〕 獎勵軍功：商鞅設立軍功爵，人民不論出身，斬敵首的都可得賞，並按軍功大小授以爵位、官職、私門卻要受重罰；若無軍功，不論貴族富豪都不能參政。
- 〔2〕 廢除世襲：為了抑制宗室貴族的勢力，商鞅廢除世卿世祿的特權。規定宗室若無軍功，不得保留原有的爵祿。

### 【N】教科書參考資料〔二〕：

鄭佩華、黎惠賢、吳美英〔編著〕〔1999〕：《中國歷史會考通識》上冊。香港，中國：艾迪生·維斯理·朗文出版社中國有限公司，頁二七至二九。

### 〈第一章 商周〉〔3〕 春秋戰國之政局

春秋時期，秦穆公雖被列為五霸之一，但由於秦人文化發展較六國落後，故終穆公之世，仍無法進入中原，只能稱霸西戎。秦獻公時曾一度進行改革，力圖振作，及至孝公任用商鞅為相，實行兩次變法，使秦日漸富強起來。

商鞅針對秦國情況，進行兩次改革，與貴族有關之內容如下：

- 〔1〕 厲行法治：公布制定法令，並申明「刑無等級」，貴族犯法，均與庶民一樣受罰。
- 〔2〕 獎勵軍功：設立軍功爵，按軍功定爵位高下，無軍功的宗室貴族，一律免除爵位，消除貴族的世襲和特權。
- 〔3〕 廢棄井田：廢除井田制，開墾井田之間的縱橫疆界，承認土地私有權，並准許土地買賣。



商鞅變法的影響〔節錄〕：

商鞅變法，加強了王權，削弱了貴族的勢力，使秦政治穩定；在經濟上，其獎勵耕織，承認土地私有等措施，亦令秦國日漸富強。此外，商鞅極力獎勵軍功，使人民「勇於公戰」，加強了秦的軍力，以至在對外戰爭中，屢獲勝利。凡此種種，皆令秦國國勢日強，奠定了統一天下的基礎。

#### 【0】教科書參考資料〔三〕：

香港人人書局編輯委員會〔編著〕〔2000〕：《新編中國歷史 第五冊 上》。

香港人人書局有限公司，頁三一至三五。

### 第一篇 商、周 第三章 春秋戰國之政局

#### 第四節 戰國的變法圖強

春秋晚年，晉國被韓、趙、魏三卿瓜分，齊國又被大夫田氏所篡，諸夏和平聯盟不能維持，於是有齊、楚、燕、韓、趙、魏、秦七雄爭衡的局面出現，史稱戰國時代。

戰國初期，各國都整頓內部，力圖自強。魏文侯實行李克的政策，提高君主權力，減低賦稅，獎勵農民墾荒，結果生產大增，使魏國成為最富強的國家。魏文侯變法稱雄，各國紛紛效法，其中以秦之變法最成功，影響亦最深遠。

#### 第五節 秦國的變法〔節錄〕

秦穆公雖躋身五霸之列，但東出之路為晉所阻，只能稱霸西戎，及秦孝公用商鞅變法，秦國一躍而成為當時最富強的國家，為日後統一中國奠定了基礎。

商鞅變法與貴族有關的內容如下：

- 〔1〕 獎勵軍功：制軍功爵，分為二十級，殺敵一人賞爵一級，私鬥的要處罰，以鼓勵人民為國效命。
- 〔2〕 裁抑宗室：宗室沒有軍功的不得有祿籍。按軍功賞賜爵祿，依爵祿等級佔有田宅和奴隸，迫使宗室到戰場立功，並藉以削減宗室的勢力。
- 〔3〕 土地私有：廢井田，開阡陌，土地私有，可自由買賣。人民受到鼓勵開墾耕地，生產自然增加。政府按畝抽稅，亦可增加稅收。
- 〔4〕 培養法治精神：變法之前，徙木示信。太子犯法，師傅受罰。在嚴刑重賞之下，上下都養成奉公守法的精神。

商鞅變法，對秦國影響深遠，其新法抑制了貴族勢力，穩定了政局。……在嚴刑重賞之下，官吏盡忠職守，人民奉公守法。……商鞅獎勵軍功，自宗室至平民都以力戰為出路。……上下一致對外，秦的軍力大為增強。

## Appendix C

### Guided questions for the cases of Chang Hsueh-liang and Shang Yang

#### Case 1: Chang Hsueh-liang

歷史背景：一九三六年，面對日本的不斷進迫，共產黨呼籲全國團結對抗日軍，身為國民黨軍官的張學良，應否發動政變而取得國民黨首肯與共產黨共同抗日呢？

問題：

1. 為何張學良要發動西安事變呢？
2. 有甚麼因素促使他作出這個決定呢？
3. 他有甚麼選擇？
4. 當他作出這個決定時，他的心情會是如何的呢？

假設你是張學良，你正在撰寫回憶錄，現在你已寫到「西安事變」這一段歷史，請根據以上問題及參考以下資料，撰寫你的回憶錄。

#### Case 2: Shang Yang

歷史背景：戰國期間，七國爭雄。各國為求富國強兵，均進行一系列變法。秦孝公亦公開徵求人才，商鞅便在這樣的情況下到了秦國，並在秦國推行變法。然而變法令貴族利益受損，故貴族激烈反對。商鞅應否繼續推行變法呢？

問題：

1. 為何商鞅要進行變法呢？
2. 有甚麼因素促使他作出這個決定呢？
3. 他有甚麼選擇？
4. 當他作出這個決定時，他的心情會是如何的呢？

假設你是商鞅，你正在撰寫回憶錄，現在你已寫到「變法」這一段歷史，請根據以上問題及參考以下資料，撰寫你的回憶錄。



Appendix D    Remarks of Table 3.1 to 3.2

Table 3.1 Samples of memoirs that scored “2”, “1” and “0” in the historical context of historical empathy

Case 1: Chang Hsueh-liang

Score	Materials provided	
	Multiple source documents group	Textbook materials group
2	<p>S1: “At that time, China was facing troubles within and without the country. I was the general of the Northwest army of KMT. I had to fight against the Communist Party. On the other hand, Japanese militarism was intruding China. Japan invaded the north-eastern part of China persistently. However, our government was still at war with the Communist Party. Chiang Kai-shek (蔣介石) had decided a policy of “domestic consolidation before an external war” (先安內後攘外). He wanted to eliminate them once and for all. During these time, Mao Tse-tung (毛澤東) and Chou En-lai (周恩來) had asked me for the cooperation of Communist Party with the KMT so as to fight against the Japanese invasion. I also realized that the Mukden Incident of September 18, 1931 (九一八事變) and the Shanghai Incident of January 28, 1932 (一二八事變) caused serious damage to the citizens of our country.” (see Appendix F [1] for original Chinese excerpt).</p>	<p>S3: “At that time, war occurred time and again. The Japanese took the chance of civil war between KMT and Communist Party and conspired to annex the north-eastern part of China. At that time, I belonged to KMT. Chiang showed firm determination on the policy of ‘domestic consolidation before an external war’. Although Chiang was my official superior, I thought that the promotion of ‘stopping the civil war and fighting against the Japanese’ was the best decision during that time. I received order to fight against the Communist Party and collaborated with the armies of Yang and Tong to attack the Red Army from both flanks. Unluckily we lost the war for many times. The morale of our armies was really low.” (see Appendix F [3] for original Chinese excerpt).</p>
Remarks	<p>S1 was able to describe the situation of China before the Sian Incident which led Chang to start mutiny. He could point out the historical fact that Mao and Chou had asked him for cooperation and this was the significant factor of which Chang decided to start the mutiny.</p>	<p>S3 was able to synthesize the textbook materials into a coherent historical context of Sian Incident. His writing was of good quality even he got textbook materials only.</p>

Score	Materials provided	
	Multiple source documents group	Textbook materials group
1	S5: "During that time, Japan closed in upon China. The Communist Party promoted collaboration of all parties to fight against Japan." (see Appendix F [5] for original Chinese excerpts).	S7: "Witnessing China being annexed by other country, I must start the mutiny in order to protect the enduring history of China and protect the lives of Chinese people." (see Appendix F [6] for original Chinese excerpts).
Remarks	S5 was able to give a brief account of the historical background of Sian Incident but he was unable to name specific historical terms of that specific period.	S7 was able to give a brief account of the historical background of Sian Incident but he was unable to name specific historical terms of that specific period.
0	S36: "I started the Sian mutiny because of the influence of Chiang." (see Appendix F [7] for original Chinese excerpts).	S37: "If I did not start the mutiny with Yang, you would have been insulted by the Japanese in the concentration camp." (see Appendix F [8] for original Chinese excerpts).
Remarks	S36 wrote something that was historically incorrect. He claimed that Chang started the Sian Incident was because of the influence of Chiang.	S37 wrote something that was historically incorrect. He used the term "concentration camp" which did not exist in China during the 1930's.



Case 2: Shang Yang

Score	Materials provided	
	Multiple source documents group	Textbook materials group
2	<p>S20: “During the Warring States period, seven Warring States fought against each other. In order to strengthen the country, all of the emperors carried out reforms. At that time, Qin was being discriminated as barbarian states. Qin had not been invited to attend the meetings held by the other 6 Warring States. Duke Xiao felt embarrassed. He wanted to reform militarily and economically in order to strengthen Qin as the most powerful country. Duke Xiao published official statement to seek men of great talents.” (see Appendix F [23] for original Chinese excerpts).</p>	<p>S22: “Before the Spring and Autumn period, Qin lagged behind the other states politically, economically and culturally. That’s why I decided to carry out reforms so as to strengthen Qin economically and militarily. The reform aimed at weakening the power of nobility, so as to stabilize Qin’s political status. There were different kinds of measures which related to nobility, such as awards for military achievements, reduction of nobility, private possession of land and the rule of law.” (see Appendix F [25] for original Chinese excerpts).</p>
Remarks	<p>S20 was able to show reliance upon a thorough analysis and evaluation of factually correct historical evidences. He was able to synthesize the materials for reconstructing the historical background of Shang Yang’s reform.</p>	<p>S22 was able to show reliance upon thorough analysis and evaluation of factually correct historical evidences. He was able to focus on the key point of suppressing the interest of nobility.</p>
1	<p>S24: “I came to this barbarian state of Qin because Duke Qin sought men of great talent. I proposed to carry out reform in Qin so as to strengthen the country.” (see Appendix F[27] for original Chinese excerpts).</p>	<p>S26: “Qin was discriminated by the other six Warring States. She could not join the alliances of the Warring States. That’s why I carried out reform in Qin.” (see Appendix F [28] for original Chinese excerpts).</p>
Remarks	<p>S24 was able to highlight the historical context which enabled Shang Yang carrying out reform in Qin. But the conflict between the nobility and the country was not mentioned.</p>	<p>S26 was able to highlight the historical context which enabled Shang Yang carrying out reform in Qin. But the conflict between the nobility and the country was not mentioned.</p>
0	<p>S40: “I am Shang Yang. In order to strengthen the country militarily and economically, I advised Emperor Qin to carry out reform.” (see Appendix F 29] for original Chinese excerpts).</p>	<p>S41: “At that time, my dad and mom asked me to develop my career. I left my own country courageously and went to Qin. Luckily, Emperor Qin appreciated me and asked me to carry out reform in Qin and to put accountability system into practice.” (see Appendix F [30] for original Chinese excerpts).</p>

Remarks	S40 was unable to give a brief account of the historical background of Shang Yang's reform in Qin.	S41 wrote something which was historically incorrect. He used the term "accountability system" which did not exist during the Warring States period.
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Table 3.2 Samples of memoirs that scored “2”, “1” and “0” in the motivational aspect of historical empathy

Case 1: Chang Hsueh-liang

Scores	Materials provided	
	Multiple source documents group	Textbook materials group
2	<p>S1: “In fact, I can still follow the policy of Chiang to eliminate the Communist Party. However, the Japanese troops closed in upon us and killed many Chinese people. I decided to start the mutiny. To look back, I was in great dilemma during that time. I felt regret. It seemed that I betrayed KMT and Chiang. On the other hand, the demand of Communist Party was reasonable. At that time, China was nearly annexed by Japan. Under such circumstances, I decided to start the mutiny, so as to collaborate with the Communist Party to fight against Japanese invasion.” (see Appendix F [9] for original Chinese excerpts).</p>	<p>S12: “At that time, I was the general of KMT. I had told Chiang about the importance of collaboration with the Communist Party to fight against the Japanese. However, he refused me. Then, I started the mutiny in the hope that KMT could collaborate with the Communist Party so as to fight against the Japanese invasion. During that time, popular pressure mounted feverishly demanding an end to the civil war and the turning of guns against the Japanese. In response to the public demand, I started the mutiny. But I was in great dilemma. I was hesitated to fight against the Communist Party or the Japanese troops. If I continued to fight against the Communist Party, our country might be destroyed by the Japanese.” (see Appendix F [12] for original Chinese excerpts).</p>

Remarks	<p>S9 constructed the thinking process of Chang clearly. He was able to construct valid explanations about Chang's decision. His writing is not mere copying of phrases and passages from the materials. He tended to synthesize information into his own coherent explanations and conclusion. Chang's goal was shown clearly. He collaborated with the Communist Party because he did not want to see China being annexed by Japan. S9 tended to develop the struggling process of Chang Hsueh-liang on deciding whether to start the mutiny or not.</p>	<p>The goal of Chang was shown clearly. In the writing of S12, Chang's dilemma and inner struggle were shown in the following excerpt:</p> <p>"But I was in great dilemma. I was hesitated to fight against the Communist Party or the Japanese troops. If I continued to fight. S12 was able to utilize the textbook materials together with his imagination so as to construct the decision making process of Chang. His imagination was contextualized in space and time. S12 was able to point out the reason why Chang started the mutiny. "During that time, popular pressure mounted feverishly demanding an end to the civil war and the turning of guns against the Japanese. In response to the public demand, I started the mutiny." against the Communist Party, our country might be destroyed by the Japanese."</p>
1	<p>S14: "In 1936, I requested Chiang to stop the civil war and collaborate with the Communist Party to fight against the Japanese army. However, Chiang refused my proposal again and again. As the Japanese army invaded China continuously, I finally kept Chiang under detention." (see Appendix F [14] for original Chinese excerpts).</p>	<p>S16: "At that time, Chiang refused to collaborate with the Communist Party to fight against the Japanese. He was imprisoned by me until he agreed the collaboration with the Communist Party." (see Appendix F [15] for original Chinese excerpts.)</p>
Remarks	<p>S14 offered immediate cause of the mutiny. He had not explained the background and the reasons for Chang to start the mutiny. The only motive of Chang's action lay in Chiang's refusal to collaborate with the Communist Party in fighting the Japanese.</p>	<p>S16 offered immediate cause of the mutiny. He had not explained the background and the reasons for Chang to start the mutiny. The only motive of Chang's action lay in Chiang's refusal to collaborate with the Communist Party in fighting the Japanese..</p>
0	<p>S44: "Under the influence of Chiang, I started the mutiny." (see Appendix F [16] for original Chinese excerpts).</p>	<p>S37: "If I did not kidnap you, I would have to fight against the Communist Party. I did not want to be blamed by all Chinese people. My reputation was closely related to the mutiny." (see Appendix F [8] for original Chinese excerpts).</p>
Remarks	<p>S44 had not constructed any decision making process and apt motives of Chang at all.</p>	<p>S37 had not constructed any decision making process. The motives had not been clearly expressed.</p>



Case 2: Shang Yang

Score	Materials provided	
	Multiple source documents group	Textbook materials group
2	<p>S28: “When I arrived at the state of Qin, I knew that the salary of the nobility was really high. The tax they received was also very high. The young noblemen were lazy. Government affairs were being neglected. The Government officials were irresponsible. The soldiers did not want to fight against the enemies. On the contrary, people had to work hard in order to pay the tax. I knew that Qin would be destroyed if the situation continued. Thus, I decided to carry out reform. The reform was opposed by some of the noblemen. The result was not significant. Therefore, I started a new reform pointing exactly against the nobility. Finally, the reform succeeded.” (see Appendix F [32] for original Chinese excerpts).</p>	<p>S29: “I remembered that I was strongly opposed by the nobility when I carried out reform in Qin as the property of the nobility was reduced.....the power of the nobility was weakened by the reform. The nobility only thought of their own interest, and the interest of people was neglected. I had considered giving up the reform. But finally I decided to continue the reform for the interest of people” (See Appendix F [33] for original Chinese excerpts).</p>
Remarks	<p>S28 made use of the documents provided so as to reconstruct historically apt motives of Shang Yang. He went through the thinking process of Shang Yang in deciding whether to start the reform against the interest of nobility in Qin or not. S28 was able to synthesize the multiple source documents provided. He was able to reconstruct the decision making process and the motives of Shang Yang by means of recounting the situation of Qin before reform.</p>	<p>S29 was able to point out that the apt motive of Shang Yang was to suppress the nobility. This point came from the textbook materials. He also reconstructed Shang and Yang’s thinking process in deciding whether to carry out the reform against the interest of the nobility.</p>
1	<p>S30: “Since all the states were carrying out reforms, Qin would lag behind if she did not do so.” (see Appendix F [34] for original Chinese excerpts).</p>	<p>S32: “Although the nobility opposed to the reform, I finally put the reform into practice.” (see Appendix F [35] for original Chinese excerpts)</p>

Remarks	S30 was able to name the motives of Shang Yang's reform as strengthening the State of Qin and suppressing the interests of nobility. However, he failed to focus on the issue "if Shang Yang should carry out the reform even the nobility strongly opposed to it" as stated in the guided question. S30 failed to explain the reason why Shang Yang should continue to carry out the reform even the nobility opposed to it.	S32 was able to name the motives of Shang Yang's reform as strengthening the State of Qin and suppressing the interests of nobility. However, he failed to focus on the issue "if Shang Yang carry out the reform even the nobility strongly opposed to it" as stated in the guided question. S30 failed to explain the reason why Shang Yang should continue to carry out the reform even the nobility opposed to it.
0	S45: "The policy of Qin was in failure. As Emperor Qin appreciated me, I made this decision. I chose to continue and I felt excited." (see Appendix F [36] for original Chinese excerpts.	S41: "At that time, my dad and mom asked me to develop my career. I left my own country courageously and went to Qin. Luckily, Emperor Qin appreciated me and asked me to carry out reform in Qin and to put accountability system into practice." (see Appendix F [30] for original Chinese excerpts).
Remarks	S45 was unable to reconstruct the decision making process and the apt motive of Shang Yang.	S41 was unable to reconstruct the decision making process and the apt motive of Shang Yang.



Table 3.3 Samples of memoirs that scored “2”, “1” and “0” in the affective aspect of historical empathy

Case 1: Chang Hsueh-liang

Score	Materials provided	
	Multiple source documents group	Textbook materials group
2	S1: “To think back the days when I started the mutiny, I felt contradictory at that time. I also felt difficult as I was just like a rebel. I betrayed Chiang and the KMT. On the other hand, I thought that the request of the Communist Party was reasonable since the situation was tense at that time. Japan was going to annex China at any time. Although I felt contradictory, I decided to start the mutiny.” (see Appendix F [17] for original Chinese excerpts).	S19: “When I made this decision, I felt very difficult. It’s because I had betrayed other people. The feeling of betraying others was really unbearable. In the case of betrayal, the one being betrayed was kept in ignorance. Even I felt very painful, I thought that Chiang would feel more painful than me when he knew Yang and I betrayed him. I finally knew the despicable character of human being as I betrayed Chiang.” (see Appendix F [18] for original Chinese excerpts).
Remarks	S18 was able to describe Chang’s feeling of deciding whether to start the mutiny or not. Besides, he was able to explain the reason why Chang felt like that. He had shown high quality of understanding on the feeling of the historical figure.	S19 could name Chang’s feeling and explain why Chang felt like that. He had shown high quality of understanding on the feeling of the historical figure.
1	S38: “I was in great dilemma which no one could imagine.” (see Appendix F [19] for original Chinese excerpts).	S39: “I felt uneasy at heart when I stepped into the room of Chiang.” (see Appendix F [20] for original Chinese excerpts).
Remarks	S38 could use one phrase to describe Chang’s feeling but without explanations.	S39 could use one word to describe Chang’s feeling but without explanations.
0	S46: “I am the initiator of Sian Incident, Chang Hsueh-liang. During that time, Japan and Russia annexed our country. Japan invaded China fiercely in 1936. Our people’s anti-Japanese thought was aroused by Japanese invasion of Northern China and Mongolia. Anti-Japanese troops set up. Anti-Japanese invasion could be achieved in the condition that civil war came to an end.” (see Appendix F [21] for original Chinese excerpts).	S47: “Until now, I believed that no one would have such determination to destroy the Communist party, except Chiang. All the Chinese people were united together to fight against the Japanese. From the time of the Mukden Incident of September 18, 1931, anti-Japanese groups established all over China. Anti-Japanese feeling was in high tide after the Beijing student movement in January. However, the KMT government still insisted the policy of domestic consolidation before an external war.” (see Appendix F [22] for original Chinese excerpts).
Remarks	S46 was unable to name any feeling of Chang.	S47 was unable to name any feeling of Chang.

## Case 2: Shang Yang

Score	Materials provided	
	Multiple source documents group	Textbook materials group
2	S34: "I felt frustrated. I have to strengthen the country on the one hand and not to offend the nobility on the other hand. It's really hard for me to decide.....I really wanted to strengthen Qin from the bottom of my heart." (see Appendix F [37] for original Chinese excerpts)	S35: "I felt confident even the reform was opposed by the nobility. However, I was in great dilemma when I made the decision of carrying out the reform." (see Appendix F [38] for original Chinese excerpts)
Remarks	S34 could name apt feelings of Shang Yang during the decision making process of whether to carry out the reform or not.	S35 used the word "confident" to describe the feeling of Shang Yang which is historically correct.
1	S42: "He felt that it's his own honor which made it impossible to refuse. (see Appendix F [39] for original Chinese excerpts).	S43: "I felt worried when I decided the way I carried out the reform." (see Appendix F [40] for original Chinese excerpts).
Remarks	S42 used the phrases "he felt that it's his own honor" which might be originated from the viewpoint of S42 himself.	S43 used only one word to describe Shang Yang's feeling without giving any explanation.
0	S48: "I am Shang Yang. I am very powerful. As Emperor Qin sought men of great talent, I go to Qin. I become Emperor Qin's assistant and Qin is strengthened." (see Appendix F [41] for original Chinese excerpts).	S49: "Compare with the other countries, Qin was left behind politically, economically and culturally. During the Warring States period, Emperor Qin decided to carry out reform so as to compete with the other countries. Shang Yang carried out two reforms in order to strengthen Qin But the nobility opposed the reform since their privileges would be lessened." (see Appendix F [42] for original Chinese excerpts).
Remarks	S48 was unable to name any feeling of Shang Yang.	S49 was unable to name any feeling of Shang Yang.



## **Appendix E      Excerpts of memoirs which obtained the highest score (i.e., “2”) in the three aspects of historical empathy respectively**

### Multiple source documents group

#### Case 1: Chang Hsueh-liang

##### I: Aspect of historical context

S2: “For me, the year of 1936 was unforgettable. At that time, Japanese and Russian invasion towards our country were the main reasons for me to start the mutiny. In 1936, Japan invaded our country persistently. The Japanese troops invaded Inner Mongolia and the northern part of China. Japanese invasion stimulated the anti-Japanese thought of our people. Under such circumstances, Chiang decided the policy of “domestic consolidation before an external war” (先安內後攘外). I really can’t understand.” (see Appendix F [2] for original Chinese excerpt).

##### II: Motivational aspect

S10: “Being a Chinese, I could not let my people suffer. Is the life of our people not as important as to become a hero? Witnessing our country being trampled by the Japanese on the one hand, I was trampling our people on the other hand in leading the civil war. I could not obey to Chiang any more. I agreed with what the Communist Party said, we had to give up our selfish interests. We had to unite together in order to protect our country. I might be accused of being misguided by the Communist Party. However, being an indomitable person, I decided to give up all my concern for honor and dishonor. I started the mutiny.” (see Appendix F [10] for original Chinese excerpts).

S11: “I had considered many different factors. For example, will other people start the mutiny if I decided not to start it? Will China be destroyed if I decided not to start the mutiny? Of course, I had also thought of failure and the need to face opposition. But I believed that starting the mutiny is the only choice for the good of our country. That was the only way to save our country. In fact, I can disregard it totally. However, I love my country very much. I will not allow this thing happen.” (see Appendix F [11] for original Chinese excerpts).

### III: Affective aspect

S18: “To think back the days when I started the mutiny, I felt contradictory at that time. I also felt difficult as I was just like a rebel. I betrayed Chiang and the KMT. On the other hand, I thought that the request of the Communist Party was reasonable since the situation was tense at that time. Japan was going to annex China at any time. Although I felt contradictory, I decided to start the mutiny.” (see Appendix F [17] for original Chinese excerpts).

### Case 2: Shang Yang

#### I: Aspect of historical context

S21: “When Duke Xiao published official statement to seek men of great talents, I decided to go there. Firstly, Emperor had the determination to turn Qin to the most powerful state among the seven Warring States. Secondly, the other Warring States had not accepted my proposal. Thirdly, though I was a foreigner, Duke Xiao still treated me as an honored guest. Fourthly, I thought that since Qin was at the western side, she seldom fought against with the other Warring States. She had potential to become the most powerful state.” (see Appendix F [24] for Chinese original excerpts).

#### II: Motivational aspect

S27: “During the Spring and Autumn period, Qin could not develop to the eastern China. She could not compare with the other countries in the middle of China. Qin was lagged behind the other countries politically, culturally and economically. She was looked down upon by the other countries and could not join the league. Duke Qin appointed me to carry out reform in Qin so as to strengthen the country.” (see Appendix F [31] for original Chinese excerpts).

#### III: Affective aspect

S34: “I felt frustrated. I have to strengthen the country on the one hand and not to offend the nobility on the other hand. It’s really hard for me to decide.....I really wanted to strengthen Qin from the bottom of my heart.” (See Appendix F [37] for original Chinese excerpts)



## Textbook materials group

### Case 1: Chang Hsueh-liang

#### I: Aspect of historical context

S4: “I started the mutiny due to the following three reasons. Firstly, from the time of the Mukden Incident of September 18, 1931 (九一八事變), all the Chinese people shared hatred to Japanese army. Anti-Japanese propagandas and movements were carrying out all over China. Anti-Japanese groups established in Shanghai. Anti-Japanese demonstration, protest parade and boycott of Japanese goods were held. Students Movement of January, 29 brought about the high tide of anti-Japanese Movement. All the people of China, including me, hate the Japanese very much. Secondly, the Communist Party published the declaration that they supported the anti-Japanese campaign and gave up confused wrangling with KMT, which made me thought that we should fight against the Japanese army first. Thirdly, as KMT insisted the policy of “domestic consolidation before an external war”, I decided to start the mutiny.” (see Appendix F [4] for original Chinese excerpt).

#### II: Motivational aspect

S13: “Witnessing our country being annexed by the Japanese and the scene of ‘Chinese fighting against Chinese’, I believe that I need to start the mutiny. After the Northeastern China being occupied by Japan, I went to Sian and was assigned to lead the Northwestern army. I saw people suffered from the Japanese invasion. I decided to start the mutiny with Yang Hu-ch’eng. In fact I could choose not to start the mutiny, but Chiang refused my request of collaboration with the Communist Party many times. Thus I decided to start the mutiny.” (see Appendix F [13] for original Chinese excerpts)

#### III: Affective aspect

S19: “When I made this decision, I felt very difficult. It’s because I had betrayed other people. The feeling of betraying others was really unbearable. In the case of betrayal, the one being betrayed was kept in ignorance. Even I felt very painful, I thought that Chiang would feel more painful than me when he knew Yang and I betrayed him. I finally knew the despicable character of human being as I betrayed Chiang.” (see Appendix F [18] for original Chinese excerpts).

## Case 2: Shang Yang

### I: Aspect of historical context

S23: “During that time, the seven Warring States fought against each other. In order to strengthen the country militarily and economically, all the states carried out reforms. I came to Qin as Duke Qin sought men of great talent. At that time, Qin lagged behind the other states politically, economically and culturally. Although Qin was also one of the five overlords during the Spring and Autumn period, she could only assume hegemony in the western part of China. The government of Qin was actually controlled by the nobility. The policies could not carry out without a hitch. Reforms must be carried out so as to weaken the nobility.” (see Appendix F [26] for original Chinese excerpts).

### II: Motivational aspect

S29: “I remembered that I was strongly opposed by the nobility when I carried out reform in Qin as the property of the nobility was reduced.....the power of the nobility was weakened by the reform. The nobility only thought of their own interest, and the interest of people was neglected. I had considered giving up the reform. But finally I decided to continue the reform for the interest of people” (See Appendix F [33] for original Chinese excerpts).

### III: Affective aspect

S35: “I felt confident even the reform was opposed by the nobility. However, I was in great dilemma when I made the decision of carrying out the reform.” (See Appendix F [38] for original Chinese excerpts)



## Appendix F

### Excerpts of students' original writings

The following excerpts are students' original writings of the translated versions shown in Appendix D and Appendix E.

#### Case 1: Chang Hsueh-liang

- [1] 當時中國正處於一個「外憂內患」的艱辛時期，我是西北方的統令，必須與共產黨作戰，這是為內戰；另外，日本實行軍國主義，是一個極端思想，日本要侵略中國作為侵略全世界的必要條件……並對中國東北不斷進迫，日本的侵略愈來愈積極，但我們仍然與共產黨作戰，因為蔣介石實行「攘外必先安內」的政策，誓必除去共產黨，這期間，毛澤東和周恩來曾多次致電及書信給我，要求國民大軍與共產黨共同抗日，帶中國走出危險的關口。而事實上，「一二八事變」、「九一八事變」等的侵略對百姓造成嚴重損害，而我也看到，我們必須抗日，共同對敵。 [scoring 2 points in the aspect of historical context] (S1)
- [2] 一九三六年是我最難忘的一年，當時日俄二國對我領土的侵略野心，構成我發動事變的當時國際形勢的主軸。民國二十五年是日本侵我國土最積極的一年，日本外相廣田提出對華三原則，並進軍華北內蒙，積極向我軍挑釁，激起了同胞們普遍而高漲的抗日情緒。於這種情況下，蔣委員長竟然提出「攘外必先安內」的政策，我不能理解。 [scoring 2 points in the aspect of historical context] (S2)
- [3] 當時戰亂頻仍，日本在中國東北已逐步野心勃勃地圖謀不軌，打算趁我們國民黨與共產黨戰內戰之時吞併中國的領土。我當時屬於國民黨，首領蔣介石斬釘截鐵地說出「先安內後攘外」，雖然他一向是我的上司，但我自己卻認為共產黨宣言「停止內戰一致抗日」才是現在局勢混亂，情況刻不容緩的明智決定。當時我奉命指揮東北軍攻打西北的共產黨軍，且奉命與陝西楊虎城的西北軍和湯恩伯的中央軍夾擊紅軍，可惜屢戰屢敗，士氣低落，軍心未穩。 [scoring 2 points in the aspect of historical context] (S3)
- [4] 我要發動西安事變的原因是有三點原因，首先自「九一八事變」以來，全國人民同仇敵愾，展開抗日救亡運動，全國各地都展開抗日烽火。上海等地紛紛成立「抗日聯合團體」，舉行反日示威遊行抵制日貨。其中「一二九」學生運動更掀起抗日救亡運動的高潮。因全國人民都憎恨日本人，所以連我自己也不例外。第二點是中國共產黨發表了《八一宣言》，支持全面抗日，放開國共兩黨的紛爭，這使我認為要先對付外敵，後解決內部問題。第三點是國民政府堅



- 持「攘外必先安內」的政策，這使我更加堅決發動事變。[scoring 2 points in the aspect of historical context] (S4)
- 〔5〕 回想起當年，中國正面對日本的不斷進迫，共產黨呼籲全國團結對抗日。[scoring 1 point in the aspect of historical context] (S5)
- 〔6〕 眼見中國正被人侵佔，被人吞併，為了使中國這個歷史悠久的國家能夠長存於世上，為了我們的同胞不被侵略者所殘殺，我必須要發動西安事變。[scoring 1 point in the aspect of historical context] (S7)
- 〔7〕 我在蔣介石的影響之下發動起事變。[scoring 0 point in the aspect of historical context] (S36)
- 〔8〕 要不是當日我和楊虎城大哥發動西安事變。你這老傢伙現在可能在日本鬼子營中給凌辱了。……那時我要不就挾持你，要不就和共產黨打一場無謂仗。我可不想當千古罪人啊！我的名聲全在那場事變啊！[scoring 0 point in the aspect of historical context] (S37)
- 〔9〕 其實，我仍可依照蔣介石的策略，繼續滅共產黨，可是日本步步進逼，不斷殺害中國人。我便決定發動這場政變。回想當日我發動這場政變時，我十分矛盾，而且十分不安，因為我好像叛賊似的，背叛了蔣介石，背叛了國民政府，但另一方面，共產黨的要求也不無道理，當時局勢十分緊迫，中國隨時被日本吞併，在這矛盾的心態中，我最後也決定發動政變，與共產黨共同抗日。[scoring 2 points in the motivational aspect] (S1)
- 〔10〕 身為中國的一個人，我可以置國家人民於水火之中，莫非稱雄比人民重要？眼見國家被蘿蔔頭蹂躪，我卻在傷殘自己的同胞，我不能再聽蔣介石的命令嗎？共產黨的人說得對，得們應摒棄私心，齊心為國家拋頭顱，灑熱血，我知道此舉必遭受國家所唾罵，雖然必有人說我已受奸計迷惑，但是我堂堂七尺男兒，我決定摒棄個人榮辱，以武力發動政變，以達全民抗日的目的。[scoring 2 points in the motivational aspect] (S10)
- 〔11〕 我曾經考慮過很多因素，如：若我不發動，會有人發動嗎？若我不這樣做，中國會否滅亡呢？當然，我亦曾想過可能遭反對及不成功，但我認為為了我國的安全，就應該孤注一擲搏一把。當時，若不想亡國，就只有這個方法了，其實，我亦可以置之不理，當作無一回事，等日本侵略中國，但愛國的我是絕對不會容許此事發生的。[scoring 2 points in the motivational aspect] (S11)
- 〔12〕 而當時身為黨軍官的我，曾經向蔣介石提出了共同抗日的必要，但是遭到他強烈的反對，於是我便發動了西安事變，希望可以聯同共產黨，一起對抗日軍。當時全國各地對抗日本的声音都十分熱烈，全國人民同仇敵愾，紛紛展開了救國的行動，我見人民聲音熱烈，最終發動事變。可是我當時正身處進退兩難的局面，一方面我應繼



續對抗共產黨，還是抗日？……但是如果繼續對抗共產黨，萬一日本軍兵臨城下，中國就亡了！ [scoring 2 points in the motivational aspect] (S12)

〔13〕眼看自己的家園快要被日本鬼子侵吞了，自家人還「鬼打鬼」。所以我認為我必先要發動兵諫。於東北淪陷後，我往西安負責西北軍事。到了西北我看到了人民的疾苦，日本鬼子是如何殘殺我國子民之後，我便決意與楊虎城實行兵諫。其實我可以選擇不以「兵諫」的，但蔣介石仍然多次不理會我的訴求。於是我決意實行兵諫。 [scoring 2 points in the motivational aspect] (S13)

〔14〕一九三六年，我又向蔣委員長要求停止內戰，共同抗日，但是，蔣介石又一次拒絕了我的請求，我眼見日軍不斷進攻，我最後軟禁蔣介石。 [scoring 1 point in the motivational aspect] (S14)

〔15〕當時蔣中正堅決不同意共同抗日，我一直把他囚禁著直至他下令國民黨共同抗日。 [scoring 1 point in the motivational aspect] (S16)

〔16〕我在蔣介石的影響之下發動起事變。 [scoring 0 point in the motivational aspect] (S44)

〔17〕回想當日我發動這場政變時，我十分矛盾。而且十分不安，因為我好像叛賊似的，背叛了蔣介石，背叛了國民政府，但另一方面，共產黨的要求也不無道理，當時局勢十分緊迫，中國隨時被日本吞併，在這矛盾的心態中，我最後也決定發動政變。 [scoring 2 points in the affective aspect] (S1)

〔18〕當我作出這決定時，我的心情十分痛苦，原因是我背叛了別人。因為背叛別人的心情是絕不好受。背叛是單方面的，被背叛的一方是全不知情的。所以我無論多痛苦一定也不及蔣介石被我和楊虎城背叛時痛苦的心情。在背叛他時我終於看到了人性最醜惡的一面…… [scoring 2 points in the affective aspect] (S19)

〔19〕(我的)心情矛盾之極，非凡人所想像得到。 [scoring 1 point in the affective aspect] (S38)

〔20〕我在踏進首領房間前的每一步都忐忑不安，不知道如何開口。 [scoring 1 point in the affective aspect] (S39)

〔21〕我就是西安事變的發動者——張學良。當時在國際方面，日俄二國對我土有侵略，民國二十五年是日本最積極的一年，並進軍華北內蒙，激起國民的抗日情緒，便組織國防政府與抗日聯軍，開始實行抗日戰爭的具體行動，內戰果能停止，抗戰果能實行，抗日自由果能實現。 [scoring 0 point in the affective aspect] (S46)

〔22〕到了這個時候，除了蔣介石外，相信誰也沒有這個心——消滅共產黨了，因為大家都同仇敵愾，要趕走日本人，自九一八事以來，「抗日聯合團體」紛紛成立，而北平「一二九」學生運動等事件，令全



國的抗日激情更上一層樓，但我國的國民政府卻堅持先安內後攘外的方針。[scoring 0 point in the affective aspect] (S47)

#### Case 2: Shang Yang

- [23] 戰國期間，七國爭雄。各國為求富國強兵，均進行一系列變法，仍記得當時，各國都視秦國為蠻夷之邦，中原各諸侯舉行國際會議，都沒有秦國的分。種種歧視，讓秦孝公深感羞辱，決心整頓軍政，發奮圖強，使秦國成為名提國際的強國。秦孝公於是發出求賢令，盼望得到真正的人才。 [scoring 2 points in the historical context] (S20)
- [24] 至秦孝公時發出求賢令，我便到達秦更說出變法的事情，因我認為：第一，孝公有決心把秦國造成七國之中最強的一國；第二，六國也沒有接受我的變法；第三，我雖是一異國人但孝公仍視我為上賓；第四，我覺得秦國偏西，少與山東六國發生戰事，儲蓄軍力，有足夠能力成為七國中的最強一國，所以我向孝公提議變法。 [scoring 2 points in the aspect of historical context] (S21)
- [25] 由於春秋時期，秦在政治、經濟、文化等方面落後得多。因此，我決定進行改革，希望能藉此令秦國走上富強之路。然而這次改革主要是針對貴族，削弱他們的勢力，使秦政治穩定。在這次變革中，與貴族有關的內容包括獎勵軍功、裁抑宗室、土地私有及培養法治精神。 [scoring 2 points in the aspect of historical context] (S22)
- [26] 想當年七國爭雄，各國為求富國強兵，均進行一系列變法。君上亦公開徵人才，我就是在這時到了秦國，當時大秦在政治經濟文化等方面都很落後，使秦雖躋身五霸之列但東出之路被晉所阻，無法進入中原，只能稱霸西戎。當時秦國的朝政經常被貴族左右，使政策不能一氣呵成地推出，必須變法整治貴族。 [scoring 2 points in the aspect of historical context] (S23)
- [27] 我受秦孝公發出求賢令，來到這蠻夷之邦—秦國，我對秦孝公提供意見，秦孝公想修改法令來治理國家。 [scoring 1 point in the aspect of historical context] (S24)
- [28] 因為當時秦常常遭到東方各國的歧視，不能參加各國的會盟，正因為此，所以我才推行此策。 [scoring 1 point in the aspect of historical context] (S26)
- [29] 我是商鞅。因為求富國強兵我才提議進行變法。 [scoring 0 point in the aspect of historical context] (S40)
- [30] 當時我爹娘叫我闖一番事業，我便把心一橫，毅然離鄉別井他投秦國，慶幸當年秦國慧眼識英雄，邀請我為秦國改革實行三司十一局高官問責制。 [scoring 0 point in the aspect of historical context] (S41)



- [ 31 ] 春秋，穆公稱霸西戎，東向發展受阻，與中原無法相比，蔽國在政治、經濟、文化都不及他國，導致受各國歧視，無法參盟，因此，在孝公繼任後，任用吾以推行變法，從而希望能使秦國富強。  
[scoring 2 points in the motivational aspect] (S27)
- [ 32 ] 吾到秦國後，所見的貴族都是俸祿厚，食邑稅收多，游惰坐食的子弟更多，如此只會敗壞農業，荒廢政事。官員不理政事，士兵無心作戰，人民卻疲於勞動來交稅，吾見此狀，深知如此下去，秦國必亡，於是決心為秦國進行變法。吾得到秦孝公賞識，共同進行變法，可惜卻受到甘龍等貴族的反對，以致變法遲遲未見成效，於是吾再提出新變法，針對只求利益的貴族，後來變法最終得到成效。  
[scoring 2 point in the motivational aspect] (S28)
- [ 33 ] 在我的回憶中，我推行這個變法時，不斷受到貴族的阻止，因為這樣會使他們的家產土地，都是因這個變法而減少……這個變法削弱了當時他們的勢力，他們不斷反對這個想法，為了個人的利益，而忽視國家和人民的利益。當時曾經想過是否要取消這個變法呢？……最後，經過我不斷地思考後，我決定站在人民和國家的那邊，為了人民和國家，所以我決定繼續推行這個變法。[scoring 2 point in the motivational aspect] (S29)
- [ 34 ] 因為各國均進行一系列變法，若秦國不再進行變法便會變得落後。  
[scoring 1 point in the motivational aspect] (S30)
- [ 35 ] 雖然當時有很多高層貴族反對，但我始終都是實行了變法。[scoring 1 point in the motivational aspect] (S32)
- [ 36 ] 因為秦國政策失敗，因為秦孝公欣賞我，令我作出這個決定，我選擇了繼續，我的心情興奮。[scoring 0 point in the motivational aspect] (S45)
- [ 37 ] 我感到十分苦惱，一方面我要把國家強大起來，另一方面又要不得罪貴族，實在十分難下決定。[scoring 2 points in the affective aspect] (S34)
- [ 38 ] 雖受到貴族激烈反對，但吾的信心不曾動搖半分，話雖如此，但吾作出此決定時，心情頓覺矛盾。[scoring 2 points in the affective aspect] (S35)
- [ 39 ] 他的心情感到義不容辭，要立刻進行變法。[scoring 1 point in the affective aspect] (S42)
- [ 40 ] 而我應選擇怎樣施行變法？應遵從舊禮還是更改禮制，真是令我十分煩惱。[scoring 1 point in the affective aspect] (S43)
- [ 41 ] 哈哈！我就係商鞅啦！我是一個很厲害的人。一天，秦孝公招賢，我就去了，然後我做了他的左右手。然後秦國就強大了。[scoring 0 point in the affective aspect] (S48)

[42] 與中原各國相比，秦在政治、經濟、文化等方面都十分落後。所以在戰國期間，秦孝公決心改革秦制，與東方各國爭雄，商鞅想秦國成為一個富強的國家，前後推行兩次徹底改革，但令貴族利益受損故貴族激烈反對。[scoring 0 point in the affective aspect] (S49)



## Appendix G

Full original version of the written memoirs that got the highest score (i.e., “2”) in all the three aspects of historical empathy (i.e., total score= 6)

### Case 1: Chang Hsueh-liang (Multiple source documents group)

S1: 當時中國正處於一個「外憂內患」的艱辛時期，我是西北方的統令，必須與共產黨作戰，這是為內戰；另外，日本實行軍國主義，是一個極端思想，日本要侵略中國作為侵略全世界的首要條件，因此日本退出國聯，並對中國東北不斷進迫，日本的侵略愈來愈積極，但我們仍然與共產黨作戰，因為蔣介石實行「攘外必先安內」的政策，誓必除去共產黨，這期間，毛澤東和周恩來曾多次致電及書信給我，要求國民大軍與共產黨共同抗日，帶中國走出危險的關口。而事實上，「一二八事變」、「九一八事變」等的侵略對百姓造成嚴重損害，而我也看到，我們必須抗日，共同退敵，因此我便聯同楊虎城將軍在西安戰爭時便幽禁蔣介石，要求他同意抗日的政策，這就是「西安事變」。其實我仍可依照蔣介石的策略，繼續滅共產黨，可是日本的步步進迫，不斷殺害中國人，我便決定發動這場政變。回想當日我發動這場政變時，我十分矛盾，而且十分不安，因為我好像叛賊似的，背叛了蔣介石，背叛了國民政府，但另一方面，共產黨的要求也不無道理，當時局勢十分緊迫，中國隨時被日本吞併，在這矛盾的心態中，我最後也決定發動政變，與共產黨共同抗日。

S50: 三十年代中期，我國正受內戰及日本的侵略困擾，當時共產黨呼籲全國團結對抗日軍，暫停內戰，身為國民黨軍官的我，理應受國民黨的命令進攻共產黨，但我卻非常支持共產黨的呼籲，令我十分困擾。當年日本的侵略非常積極及迅速。東北軍內抗日情緒及要求日漸高漲亦令我非常為難。當時我若果繼續勦共，中國勢必滅亡，所以我唯有鋌而走險，脅持蔣委員長。令我這樣決定有三個主要原因：一是綏遠戰爭的爆發，一是上海救國會首腦人物沈鈞儒等七人被捕事件，本人對中樞處置極表不滿，一是西安學生團體紀念一二九周年遊行遭軍警取締，令我非常不滿，而謁蔣委員長後，因得不到其支持，遂發動西安事變。當時我的心情是非常茫然及矛盾。

S51: 抗日時期，中國勢力與日本的勢力〔例如：軍事、財政等〕方面的重要範疇都大大不及日本。而且中國在抗日時期，國共不斷發生內戰導致中國勢力大大減弱。如果國共不能共同合作，絕對不能抗日而國民黨的首領蔣介石亦終日與共產黨內戰，令到中國永無寧日。當時，我希望國共兩黨能夠互相結合力量，互相團結，打敗日本人。因此這次發動西安事變都是為了中國眾人民的安全而作出這決定。只有兩黨合作，才能對抗外敵。而當時在我作出這決定的時候，亦都是三思而後行。作出決定時，我亦感到非常為難。而我



為了響應共產黨呼籲，我立刻在西安與楊虎城合力捉拿蔣介石，希望說服他能夠與共產黨合作，以國家安全為大前提，共同抗日。

### Case 1: Chang Hsueh-liang (Textbook materials group)

S4: 我要發動西安事變的原因是有三點原因，首先自「九一八事變」以來，全國人民同仇敵愾，展開抗日救亡運動，全國各地都展開抗日烽火。上海等地紛紛成立「抗日聯合團體」，舉目反日示威遊行抵制日貨。其中「一二九」學生運動更掀起抗日救亡運動高潮。因全國人民都憎恨日本人，所以連我自己也不例外。第二點是中國共產黨發表了《八一宣言》，支持全面抗日，放開國共兩黨的紛爭，這使我認為要先對付外敵，後解決內部問題。第三點是國民政府堅持「攘外必先安內」政策。這使我更加堅決發動事變。眼看自己的家園快要被日本鬼子侵吞了，自家人還鬼打鬼。所以我認為我必先去發動兵諫。

於東北淪陷後，我往西安負責西北軍事。到了西北我看到了人民的疾苦，日本鬼子是如何殘殺我國子民之後，我便決意與楊虎城實行兵諫。其實我可以選擇不以兵諫的，但蔣介石仍然多次不理會我的訴求。於是我決意實行兵諫。

S52: 1935 年 10 月，紅軍到達陝西北部。蔣介石把我的東北軍調到西北攻打共產黨。共產黨宣言「停止內戰，一致抗日」，後來我自己都受其影響，這是因為九一八事變以來，全國人民同仇敵愾，展開抗日救亡運動。此外，中共發表八一宣言：共產黨極力主張對抗日本的侵略，驅逐日本侵略者。因此我在 1936 年 12 月發動西安事變。在 12 月 4 日，蔣介石抵達西安催戰。12 月 7 日，我向蔣陳述停止剿共，一致抗日的必要，但我被蔣介石嚴詞申斥。那天晚上，我便和楊虎城密商「兵諫」。之後我便稱所部不穩，請求軍事委員會會長蔣中正前往會商。蔣中正抵西安後，我及楊虎城要求聯共抗日不果，便挾持蔣中正及國民政府要員十多人，旋即通電全國，提出八項要求，即史稱西安事變。事變發生後，各方出面調停。經周恩來、我及蔣中正三人會談後，我便釋放蔣中正，並隨蔣中正反南京接受軍事法庭審判，結果被判有罪，但獲特赦，自此我一直被軟禁至八十年代，但我覺得發動這事變都是值得的。

### Case 2: Shang Yang (Multiple source documents group)

S21: 我當時要進行變法的目的是認為東方六國對我的變法不認同，至秦孝公時發出求賢令，我便到達秦更說出變法的事情，因我認為第一、孝公有決心把秦國造成七國之中最強的一國，第二、六國也沒有接受我的變法，第三、我雖是一異國人但孝公仍視我為上賓，第四、我覺得秦國偏西，少與山東六國發生戰事，儲蓄軍力，有足夠能力成為七國中的最強一國，所以我向孝公提議變法。我要實行變法有幾個原因促使我去實行，首先山東六國會防備我國，第二若不加速變法會使我秦國滅亡。



當時貴族與及權貴反對我的變法因我的變法會影響他們的利益，但我當時仍選擇推行。因為我如果不推行變法，則會被權貴們對付，而孝公必然不再助我，我一生的心血也會白費。我作出這決定時心情沉重，因我提出以法治國時遭不少人的評論，我必需要打破這些困難才可以使法推行全國，所以我的心情會十分沉重。





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